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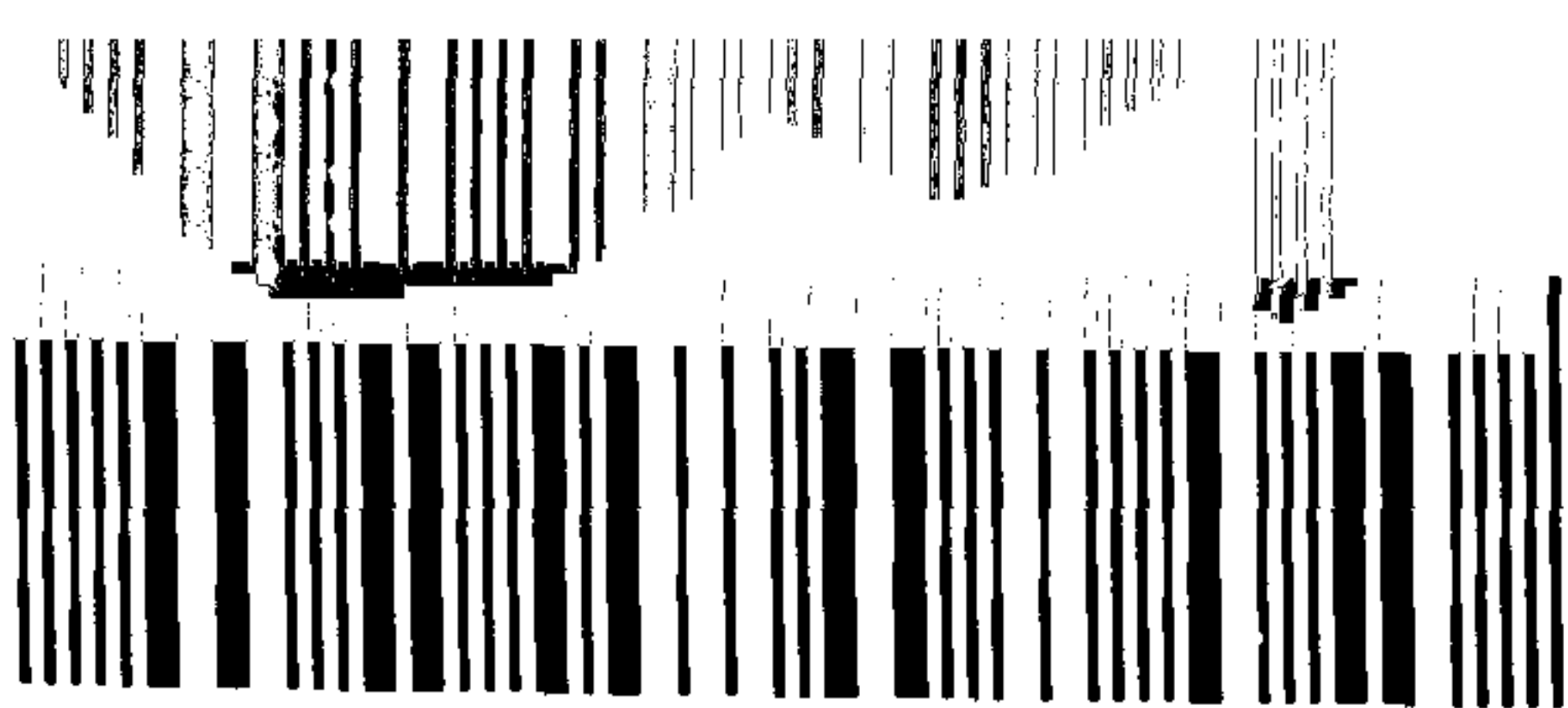
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PEOPLE LIKE US
Gentrification and the Service Class in Hackney
in the 1980s

by

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of service-class residents in Hackney, an inner London borough situated directly to the north of the City of London. The main focus of the study is on why these people chose to live in Hackney in the first place, why they have stayed and what influence living in Hackney has had on their social and political attitudes.

Chapters two to four are concerned with debates about the structure and class formation of the service-class, whether it is one class or many, what (if any) are its political allegiances, and the relationship between the service-class and gentrification. Chapter five considers the changes which have taken place in London and Hackney over the last fifteen years. Chapter six introduces the empirical basis for this discussion: a survey of 245 largely service-class recent homebuyers in two areas of Hackney.

Chapters seven to nine present these findings which show that the respondents are representative of a distinct, and élite, sub-group of the service class, in terms of their family background, their income and occupation and in their social and political attitudes. Whilst many respondents initially came to Hackney because of its cheap housing and central location, their reasons for staying have more to do with the *cultural* significance of living in inner London. This, in turn, has had important consequences for their social, cultural and political behaviour.

The concluding chapter suggests that there are 'locality effects' observable in the behaviour and attitudes of service-class residents in Hackney which are reasons for living in inner London and consequences of living there. There are also significant differences between the two areas studied which may have implications for the internal formation of the service-class even within a spatially delimited area, such as inner London.

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This book is concerned with the history of the area now known as Greater London. The area is an important part of the history of the City of London. It is a city of many centuries, and its history is a story of growth and change. The area has been a part of the City of London since the 12th century, and it has been a part of the City of London since the 19th century. The area has been a part of the City of London since the 19th century, and it has been a part of the City of London since the 19th century.



Map 1: Greater London, by London Borough with Hackney highlighted in white

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with members of the service-class living in two wards in Hackney. Hackney is an inner London borough located directly north of the City of London. In recent years Hackney has often been used as a metaphor for some of the profound changes that have been taking place in British society (Harrison 1983; Wright 1985a; 1991). Although the empirical data is confined to two recently gentrifying areas in Hackney (De Beauvoir Town and Stoke Newington), the implications of the investigation are broader: that the section of the service-class which has settled in gentrified areas of inner London can be seen as distinct from the service-class elsewhere. Comparisons with national data on educational background, income and, most significantly, voting behaviour show that there are clear differences between those members of the service-class interviewed in this research and the service-class as a national entity. Socio-economic differences are also found between the two areas within Hackney which leads to the proposition that not only are there socio-spatial differences between London and the rest of the nation, but that such differences may also exist between different areas within London. The nature of these differences and the reasons for them are the broad subject matter of this research¹.

Whilst the research is very much rooted in the lives of those respondents whom I interviewed in Hackney, it is also symptomatic of larger changes that have been taking place socially and economically in Britain over the last decade and a half. Amongst these changes have been the emergence of London as a world financial centre and the increasing socio-economic gulf that has opened up between, on the one hand, London and the south east and, on the other, the rest of the nation. This national polarization has also been matched by a deepening polarization within London itself. One major consequence of London's changing position in the national and international economy has been its attraction to younger members of the service-class as a source of employment and career advantage.

The central question addressed in this thesis is not why London has become the 'honeypot' for certain sections of the service-class but why some of its members have chosen to live in socially-mixed areas in inner London rather than to commute into work from the surrounding middle-class suburbs and 'exurbs'. Of those who have decided to live in inner London, why have some chosen to live in Hackney and why do they appear to be such a distinctive group in terms of shared characteristics vis-a-vis the rest of the service-class? The answers to these questions appear to involve cultural and political factors that can be traced back to their own background and education.

Origins of the research

The reasons why I began this research have some bearing on the direction it has taken and have to do with my own background and higher education. I had lived in Hackney since leaving university in the early 1970s and began this research in 1984 convinced that most service-class incomers into Hackney were people like myself: ie well-educated, working in the public sector and politically left-wing. Living in Hackney was a statement and an excuse. A statement that one was 'committed' politically and socially; an excuse in that it permitted one to buy and renovate a large, and often stylish, old house - an action that might seem hopelessly bourgeois and 'incorrect' elsewhere. Quite why Hackney should have these political connotations was, and is, not altogether clear to me but this view was a commonly-held stereotype and, for much of the 1970s, was probably fairly near the truth. An alternative way of looking at it was to identify such people as the representatives of the 'pioneering' stage of gentrification (Smith 1987a). Rose (1984) has gone so far as to coin the term 'marginal gentrifier' to account for the often disproportionate number of politically radicalised people in gentrified areas.

The late 1970s and early 1980s also coincided with an upturn in radicalism within the Labour party, particularly in local government in London. The correlation between the success of the 'new urban left' in the Labour party and gentrification has been commented on by Gyford (1985)². There seemed to me, not least in terms of my own

autobiography, to be a common-sense link between this left-wing political activity and gentrification by the generation that had been the student activists of the previous decade. Bernice Martin (1981) identified the increased number of middle-class children going on to higher education as a major cause of middle-class radicalism; this has led to an extension of 'liminality', by which she means a delay in the development of a fixed sense of identity, which 'should' emerge as young people enter work and acquire a sense of purpose and emotional stability. Lash and Urry (1987) develop this theme to account for the rise of 'new social movements' which, presumably, would include the new urban left in London.

"Martin goes on to argue that the nature of work in the vastly proliferating 'expressive professions' (ie service-class members in part of the public sector, the communications media, etc.) can mean that liminality extends right through adulthood. Middle class youth, then, and the expressive professions in the service-class are a potential audience for postmodernist culture, and potential sources of resistance to domination in disorganized capitalism. This partly, we think, explains their overwhelming presence in the so-called 'new social movements'." (Lash and Urry 1987: 15)

Whilst the autobiographical insights provided a starting point (and there was some confirmation for this thesis in the literature), it soon became clear that, by the mid-1980s, such groups were not the mainstream gentrifiers in Hackney. Many, if not most, of the Hackney gentrifiers were different sorts of people with a different agenda³: the stereotypical inner-city gentrifier of the 1980s was primarily interested in a fast-appreciating asset within easy reach of his (or increasingly her) City desk (Bondi 1991; Warde 1991; Pryke 1991). In reality of course, both stereotypes were too narrow and there was a good deal of diversity amongst the Hackney middle-class. The following account is probably a fair summary of the middle-class in Hackney in the 1980s:

"Hackney is actually a mixed borough with an unmistakeable proportion of young professionals who have brought their own outlook to the area.... A considerable number of Hackney's middle class are image makers of one sort or another. Indeed the borough is stiff with journalists, poets, artists, people who work in advertising and the television, freelance (or just plain unemployed) commentators who pass as 'cultural critics', and travel writers who haven't yet raised the necessary airfare. Alert observers will know that a Channel 4 commissioning editor has not yet moved out of the area: he can be seen pruning

the tree in front of his home with a pair of pliers, or strolling down Dalston Lane, mid-morning, to take a bus for what the rest of us can only presume to be the first working lunch of a busy day" (Wright 1991: 23)

Little that follows in the empirical data contradicts this thumb-nail sketch⁴. Perhaps it is precisely because it is so stiff with such types, including (it has to be said) Patrick Wright, that the stereotypes flow so easily; they highlight an aspect of the changes that have overtaken London in the 1980s. If the metaphor of 'flexible specialization' can be applied to the production of gentrified housing then Hackney has become a 'niche' in a new social and economic structure.

London

Whilst the nuances of gentrification and service-class life in London vary between borough and within borough, the major determinants of change within the service-class need to be located at the level of London. The growth and distribution of the service-class in Britain over the last fifteen years is inseparable from the changes that have taken place in the social and economic structure of London.

The growth of an international division of labour and an international service economy, both of which are discussed in more detail in chapter four below, has reconfirmed London's historical position as one of the major centres of world finance. One important consequence of this has been the phenomenal growth in service-class jobs in the City of London (Coakley and Harris 1983; Pryke 1991). The growth has not just been confined to the financial services industry and its supporting infrastructure (the law, accountancy, financial research etc), but is also apparent in publishing, the media, advertising and a host of person-centred professional services located in state, private and self-employed sectors.

In the 1970s, and particularly in the 1980s, London has had a magnetic attraction for entrants to the service-class (Savage, Fielding et al 1989). Whilst the labour market for this service-class has largely been centred on the City and central London, its

associated housing market has been more dispersed geographically; it is split between those who have decided to live in gentrifying/gentrified areas of inner London and those who live further out in suburbia or 'exurbia' and commute into the centre daily. The traditional view is that inner city gentrifiers are young, single people or childless couples (Beauregard 1986; Gale 1984). There is evidence, which is supported by this research, that this is now changing, particularly as more service-class women remain economically active after the birth of children; this may act as a major predisposition to continue living near to their work in the inner city (Bondi 1991; Warde 1991).

The data referred to in the following chapters suggest that Hackney service-class residents are drawn disproportionately from the professional and administrative sections of the service-class but, since these groups are also in a majority amongst this section of the inner London workforce as a whole, this does not help the explanation very much. The argument which is developed in this thesis is that those who are attracted to living in inner London do so for broadly cultural and personal reasons rather than simply to be near to their place of work, although this is important - particularly for dual-earner households with young children. It is suggested that they are people who value the friendships of similar kinds of people; people who like living in similar (though often not the same) inner London mixed-class areas, who enjoy access to the cultural facilities of the metropolis, and who (if they have children) live in households where both partners continue to be economically active.

London is thus a magnet occupationally but also culturally and socially; it is where 'people like us' live - hence the title of the thesis. This is a difficult notion to investigate empirically⁵ or to theorise; the service-class is less cohesive and more diverse than other classes, which makes it harder to draw class generalizations about it (Warde 1991)⁶. The argument, following from this, which is developed here is that the service-class is culturally, as well as occupationally, diverse and that there is a culturally distinct section of the service-class who *choose* to live in inner London. It is also suggested that this spatial segregation is repeated within inner London; the two areas of Hackney

studied here (Stoke Newington and De Beauvoir Town) are shown to vary significantly in terms of their socio-economic 'make-up' and the political values of their service-class residents. This could probably be repeated across inner London.

There is however, a danger of over-emphasising cultural differences and lack of class formation amongst the service-class and ignoring the structural context; Hackney is primarily an inner-London 'commuter-shed' which is a source of (relatively) cheap housing and is only a couple of miles from the City. These factors are probably more important than any other in accounting for why new residents chose to live in the area. Those people to whom I talked were the ones who had stayed and who had found ways of accommodating to living in a deprived inner London borough; whilst many had initially come to live in Hackney because of its location and relatively cheap housing, cultural factors often played a significant role in explaining why they had stayed. Those who couldn't stand the atmosphere, the dirt and grime tended to leave; anecdotal evidence suggested that they either went to the suburbs proper, or to West London (Fulham was mentioned more often than not), or else they moved away from the London area altogether⁷.

The significance of all this is to suggest that space plays an important role in recent service-class formation. The relationship between space and social theory and its implications for understanding regions and localities has been discussed in many places over the last decade (see for example: Gregory and Urry 1985; Warde 1989; Cooke 1989b; Sayer 1991). The assumption which is central to this present thesis is that space is important in understanding the recent development of, and internal differentiation within, the service-class. The concept of 'locality' and the role it plays in explaining social causation ('locality effects') is discussed in some detail in chapter six in the context of designing the survey methodology.

Broadly, I am suggesting that space matters in two respects. Firstly, that the role of London in the UK space economy is central and that it has had a dramatic effect on

the distribution and formation of new sections of the service-class over the last decade and a half. London is clearly a unique social and spatial phenomenon in the UK; this is discussed more fully in chapter five. The second respect in which space matters to this thesis, concerns Hackney which is unique within London because of its proximity to the City, its housing stock which is cheaper than that in other areas bordering the City, its ethnic mix and its local social composition and political culture. If this were not so, it would not contain such a large and distinctive service-class population which also helps to reinforce its local uniqueness. This is not to argue that there are not similar areas, but whilst they are similar they are not the same. Islington, for example, is similarly placed in relation to the City and its housing stock is not dissimilar, but it is considerably more expensive and this has dramatic implications for the kind of service-class person that lives there both in age terms and in their socio-economic and cultural formation.

In what follows I wish to argue that 'place' not only matters but has clear 'effects'. Whilst the initial reasons for settling in Hackney might have been accidental or dictated solely by financial resources, the reasons for staying are considerably less so and have had clear consequences: for example, the poor quality of public services has resulted in a greater tendency to make private provision by people who might otherwise be politically chary of doing so⁸.

I would therefore wish to claim, on the basis of the evidence from this research, that there are identifiable 'locality effects' which are consequences of living in a deprived inner London borough; these effects are, at the same time, often part of the attraction for living there. The justifications for this claim is discussed in chapters six to nine which not only consider the concept of a 'locality effect' in more depth (in chapter six) but also the reasons for living in Hackney in the first place and some of the consequences of continuing to do so (in chapters seven to nine).

Implications of the research

Whilst the context of the research is the gentrification of the inner city, the main focus of the discussion is on the formation of the service-class and its role and internal structure in contemporary Britain. This necessarily involves a discussion both of its class structure and of its class formation (see chapters one and two), but my main point is that spatial and cultural factors can be related both to issues of class formation and class structure. In terms of class structure, the centrality of London to national and international capitalism makes it a key factor in the determination of British class structure especially in relation to the service-class as a 'class-in-itself'. Space also has consequences for the service-class as a 'class-for-itself' because of the importance attached by this group to the cultural and social meanings associated with 'metropolitan' versus 'suburban' lifestyles. To a greater extent than other subordinate classes, the service-class is able to define its interests through making choices about occupational and consumption locations. This in turn indicates that significant variations in class interest can be expected amongst service-class members (Warde 1991)⁹.

Cultural factors are inextricably linked to spatial considerations; this can be related to the discussion by sociologists about 'cosmpolitans' and 'locals' which refer not so much to where people live as to their value systems and reference groups which may then be physically related to spatial locations (Merton 1968; Gans 1962; Gouldner 1979; Crompton 1990). 'Cosmopolitans' tend to live in metropolitan centres precisely because their world view is intellectual and thus not restricted to a given spatial locality; world cities, such as London, tend to facilitate such behaviour and this then becomes a reason for living in such places. The higher education system is a major source for the acquisition of 'cultural capital' for the service-class and its national structure in the UK adds to this tendency towards 'cosmpolitanism' amongst the elite of the service class and, in turn, to the pre-eminence of London as a major source of intellectual and other cultural discourse. Higher education is a national system and students have no loyalty to where it takes place, since they come from all over the country and because, after

graduation, 'all roads lead to London'. This discussion takes place in chapters three and four but it also forms an important element in the conclusion where the 'local/cosmopolitan' concept is used to conceptualize the differences within the service-class between those living in inner London and elsewhere.

The research therefore enters the debate about the nature of the service-class and comes down firmly on the side of those who argue that it is internally divided, and that spatial and cultural factors are an important determinant of its class formation (Crompton 1990; Savage 1990). This is not to suggest a prioritization of the experience of class over its structural context; in my view, the context for the development of the service-class in Britain over recent years has very clearly been the restructuring of the capitalist economy. This has put London firmly at the centre of any stage in the debate about the restructuring of class relations and, even for the service-class, choice remains firmly constrained by the workings of the capitalist economy.

Organization of the argument and structure of the thesis

The structure of the thesis broadly follows the argument outlined above. Chapters two to four are concerned with debates about the structure and class formation of the service-class and arguments over whether it is one class or many, and what (if any) are its political allegiances. The relationship between the service-class and gentrification is then discussed: whilst research on gentrification points to interesting features of service-class formation, it is argued that these are rarely, if ever, made explicit and that the existence of the service-class is, for the most part, taken for granted in such research.

Having identified the role of the service class in the these first chapters, the context of London is then discussed. The fifth chapter therefore looks at the changes that have taken place in London over the last fifteen years and at how far the data for Hackney is consistent with this. In this chapter, extensive use is made of census data, especially that from the Longitudinal Survey, a 1% sample linked from the 1971 to the

1981 Census which allows trends to be followed. The strength of this data is that it permits us to study what happened to Hackney in the 1970s: broadly a process of out-migration of many of the more skilled residents leading to residential and occupational polarization which, in turn, it is argued, paved the way for service-class gentrification in the 1980s. The weakness of the data is that it tells us nothing about the 1980s.

Chapter six introduces the empirical context for this discussion, which is an in-depth survey of 245 largely service-class recent homebuyers living in De Beauvoir and Stoke Newington, which provides extensive data on their backgrounds as well as their current occupational, lifestyle, socio-cultural and political characteristics. The concept of a 'locality effect', which is central to the research, is discussed in this chapter both as an empirical guide for constructing the survey methodology and as a theoretical concept to be tested against the data.

It was felt necessary to carry out a survey because of the limitations that were imposed by the secondary analysis of official data which was both out of date (dealing only with the 1970s) and could not answer the major question which was *why* a section of the service-class had settled in Hackney in the 1980s. The analysis carried out on the Census had indicated a number of trends but what was needed was to ask a group of service-class 'incomers' why they had come to Hackney and stayed there. In other words, I was seeking to 'triangulate' the problem through 'methodological pluralism' (Denzin 1978; Sayer 1984).

Recent homeowners were chosen primarily for two reasons, firstly because statistics from the Nationwide Anglia (1988) indicated that housebuying in Hackney was almost entirely restricted to the professional and managerial group and this made it the most efficient proxy for identifying recent service-class incomers, and secondly, because the consumption of gentrified housing had already been identified as an important indicator of class formation for a section of the service-class (Moore 1982).

The following three chapters report on these findings which, together with data gained from structured follow-up interviews from the original survey interviews, provide the evidence that there are socio-spatial aspects to service-class formation and that a specifically inner London sub-section of the service-class has emerged in Hackney. It shows that, whilst people's reasons for coming to Hackney initially may have been determined by cheap housing and its central location, their reasons for staying have more to do with the cultural significance of living in an inner London location. This in turn has had important consequences for their social, cultural and political behaviour.

The concluding chapter suggests that there are therefore clear 'locality effects' observable in the cultural, social and political behaviour of service-class residents in Hackney. At a secondary level, there are also distinctions between respondents in the two areas studied from which, it is argued, wider implications may be drawn about internal differences within the service-class even within a spatially delimited area such as inner London.

¹ Given the research design, which is restricted to Hackney, it is not possible to develop this argument conclusively since there is no control group. Comparisons with national data sources do however appear to support these contentions strongly.

² It is interesting to note that when, in 1968, Labour lost control of nearly all of the London boroughs, the only ones in which it maintained control were the outer non-gentrified boroughs - notably Barking and Dagenham. When the Labour party subsequently regained control of the inner London boroughs, there had been something of an internal putsch and many of the older, working class councillors had been replaced by more radical, managerially minded, young professionals (see Gyford 1985 for a fuller account of this history).

³ Or perhaps they were merely more explicit about it ! The following anecdote, repeated by Wright (1991) is illustrative of what all the middle-class groups had in common:
"The population can be hard to please, as the John Lewis Partnership recently found out when they pressed ahead with the closure of Jones Brothers, an old-fashioned outlet on the Holloway Road, which was also one of the few department stores in north or north-east London. There were pickets and petitions, but in the argument it also emerged that the store's customers were famous amongst the staff for their awkwardness, their complaints, and their constant insistence on consumer rights. A representative story concerned an awkward customer who complained that the shop was 'really appalling': the exasperated assistant replied, 'Well, you'll be glad to hear that it's closing', only to have the customer burst into tears, demanding to know where the hell she was expected to do her shopping after that."

⁴ Its main shortcoming is that it underplays the number working in financial services or self-employment.

⁵Part of the problem is that the tools for operationalizing occupational and social divisions within the service-class are less well-developed than they are for the working class. This is partly a reflection of its recent history, partly of its complexity but also because it is not a traditional area of research.

⁶It could be argued that a weakness in Warde's (1991) argument is that he then proceeds to argue that gender can be separated from class in explaining gentrification. Gender is constrained by class but also constraining upon it in certain class locations - in this case the service-class. This argument is well put, in relation to the nineteenth century middle-class, by Davidoff and Hall (1987).

⁷Savage and Fielding (1989) suggest that this was a not uncommon pattern of service-class migration, where once they were established professionally/occupationally and in the housing market, they made a move out of the south east, often becoming self-employed.

⁸Ascherson (1986) described Stoke Newington residents as being 'leftish and caring'.

⁹I would not wish to overstate this argument - as Pahl (1989) undoubtedly does and it should be noted that there has been a long sociological history of variations in working class interests (Lockwood 1966). Indeed as Mackenzie (1974) points out this has had a spatial context - to leave Bethnal Green for Luton metaphorically was to move from an occupational community to a privatized one. More recently the Conservative government's policy of selling council houses and opting out has offered similar methods of allowing working class people to express their interests in non-collective ways.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE SERVICE CLASS

Introduction

The key theoretical issue in this thesis concerns the emergence and rôle of the 'new middle-class' and its social and spatial differentiation. The term 'service-class' is generally used to distinguish the top layer of the middle-class from those performing routine non-manual functions¹. In what follows, the issues that concern me are, broadly, internal divisions within the service-class (its class formation), and specifically, whether there is an identifiable 'new *urban* middle-class' and whether such a class can be identified in inner *London*. London is likely to be atypical of other urban areas in the UK and it may well be the case that it has a specific attraction to some sections of the service-class.

The position of intermediate social classes, notably the middle-class, has long posed a threat to Marxist and, to a rather lesser extent, Weberian accounts of social stratification (Dahrendorf 1959). Marshall (1988: 202-6) remind us that contemporary debates about intermediate groups share some similarities with those amongst social historians over the nineteenth century labour aristocracy (Hobsbawm 1968; Crossick 1978; Gray 1974; Foster 1974). The labour aristocrats were relatively privileged groups of workers, often in a supervisory and managerial relationship to unskilled workers. Their privileges stemmed, in part at least, from the exploitation of their co-workers. They were, at the same time, the backbone of the trade union movement which largely accounted for their ability to operate a policy of closure around their occupational skills by excluding the unskilled workers who were not so organized. In civil society they were associated with many of the progressive social and political movements of the nineteenth century which were responsible for much of the turn-of-the-century social reform legislation.

"Narrowly instrumental in pursuing sectional wage demands, the labour aristocracy in mid Victorian Britain was considerably more radical than any other

section of the working-class, both in its class and its status aspirations. Of course it was the radicalism of social reform rather than wholesale revolution"(Marshall 1988: 205)

Lenin (1965) argued that reformism of the British trade union movement was a result of a deliberate strategy by the bourgeoisie which had used part of the super-profits it was making from imperialism and the export of capital to 'buy-off' the top layer of the working-class.

"This stratum of workers turned bourgeois, or the labour aristocracy, who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and their entire outlook, is the principal prop of the second International, and in our days, the principal social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class, real vehicles of reformism and chauvinism. In the civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie they inevitably, and in no small numbers, take the side of the bourgeoisie, the Versailles against the Communards" (Lenin 1965 : 174-5)

The beliefs and ideology of the labour aristocrats were thus explained in terms of 'false consciousness'; this approach, with varying degrees of crudity, has been at the base of many Marxist accounts of intermediate social groups ever since (for example, Foster (1974)). This equation between personal consumption and political reformism has recently been taken up in sociology, albeit from a very different political standpoint (Saunders 1986a).

Other accounts of the labour aristocracy have drawn on theories of ideology and hegemony to understand the complexity of the position occupied by the labour aristocracy in the economy and civil society (Gray 1974; Crossick 1978).

"The accommodation of the aristocracy of labour to capitalist society was the result neither of a straightforward and direct ideological indoctrination made possible by the relative 'affluence' of the stratum, nor simply of the absence of class consciousness. The ideology of the stratum seems rather to exemplify the type of consciousness defined by Gramsci (1971: 181) as 'corporate': 'the right is claimed to participate in legislation and administration, even to reform these - but within the existing fundamental structures'. The behaviour of the upper working-class stratum reflected, in certain contexts, a distinct sense of class identity; but this was still effectively contained within a social order dominated by the 'hegemonic' middle-class." (Gray 1974: 27)

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a rising living standard enabled some skilled workers to create a domesticity based around the home hitherto unknown to the working-class. Increasingly, they separated themselves socially and residentially from the unskilled working-class and, by 1870, *'the majority of skilled workers already commuted to work by tram or workers' train'* (Marshall 1988: 203).

It is not intended to suggest that the labour aristocracy of the late nineteenth century and the service-class of a century later occupy a similar position but, nevertheless, the debate over the labour aristocracy emphasises the manner in which intermediate social groups have a contradictory class location and consciousness and how they can also spearhead new social and political movements. The continued failure of the western working-class to embrace a 'true' revolutionary consciousness has given rise to a succession of attempts on the part of Marxists to account for this. The work of Gramsci has been embraced largely because of his identification of the role played by ideology and hegemony in accounting for the quiescence of the working-class, particularly in the age of Fordist industrial relations. Likewise, the relative autonomy granted to social, political and ideological levels in so-called 'structural Marxism' has proved attractive to those trying to reconcile what often seem to be the intractably contradictory economic and political interests of the working-class (Althusser 1969; Poulantzas 1973).

Goldthorpe (1982) notes that another strategy developed by social theorists, particularly those working in the Marxist tradition, has been to identify the emergence of a 'new class'. Mallet (1975) introduced the concept of a new working-class of affluent and technologically sophisticated workers. Their concerns were not merely economic but also encompassed issues of control in a technologically advanced capitalism. Other non-marxist writers such as Daniel Bell (1973), Clark Kerr (1973) and John K Galbraith (1962) also identified new social groups and interests emerging in the 'technostructure' of industrial society. Mallet saw, at least potentially, a revolutionary consciousness developing amongst this new working-class and his ideas gained credibility as a result of

the leading role played by skilled workers in advanced industries in the events of 1968 in France². The technological determinists, on the other hand, predicted the end of ideological conflict and the emergence of an industrial society based around a new class structure whose ideology would be determined by the technological needs of industrialism (Kerr 1973)³.

The debate over emergent intermediate classes has been confused not only by ideological differences but also by the blurring of distinctions between 'class structure' and 'class formation' (Sarre 1989). Crudely, *'class structure deals with relations between classes while class formation addresses relations within classes'* (Marshall 1988: 32). In the case of the middle-class, the boundaries above and below it have often been crucial in defining what is meant by middle-class but relations with subordinate and superordinate classes have also been important in defining divisions within the middle-class (Savage forthcoming). Another question is to what extent do internal divisions arise out of the activity of class members and to what degree are they constrained by structural imperatives ?

Sarre (1989: 84) argues that Marxists have, on the whole, been more successful in dealing with the problem of class structure and Weberians with that of class formation. These definitional and analytical problems have become more acute as the intermediate class groups have grown in size and importance and as intergenerational upward mobility into the middle-class has increased. The collapse of industrial production, the rapid growth of services and the associated growth in white-collar employment in the last decade have made an analysis of both the class structure and class formation of non-manual workers an increasingly urgent task. What was once an interesting theoretical lacuna has become an urgent empirical problem:

"The growing size and complexity of the middle-classes pose two important theoretical questions: first, how can they be separated from the upper class and the working-class, and secondly how should internal differentiation be treated - as unimportant, as divisions into class fractions, or as divisions into separate classes"(Sarre 1989: 103)

The concept of a service-class

Most contemporary writers on the service-class acknowledge that the term service-class derives from the writings in the 1950s of the Austro-Marxist Karl Renner (Goldthorpe 1982; Abercrombie and Urry 1983; Lash and Urry 1987; Savage 1988).

"The expression 'service-class' marks a fundamental distinction from the traditional 'serving class' which performed real labour, if only at a rudimentary technical level, and was for the most part paid in kind. Three basic forms can be distinguished: economic service (managers etc), social service (distributive agents of welfare services), and public service (public, official agents)" (Renner 1978: 250)

Dahrendorf (1959) is generally acknowledged as being responsible for introducing Renner's work into English language sociology although he did so in such a way as to buttress his own attempt to develop a non-Marxist (or anti-Marxist) analysis of the conflicts in industrial society,

"Renner developed a kind of 'theory of delegation'. In post-capitalist society, 'the functions' of capitalists appear subdivided into a steadily growing number of salaried employees of the very highest and of high and of lower rank...these new aids (sic) are neither capitalists nor workers, they are not owners of capital, they do not create value by their work, but they do control values created by others. Renner calls this stratum the 'service-class'. It has fashioned itself on the model of public civil service and has been transformed from a caste into a class. Although it participates in authority, it does not exercise absolute authority but is subject to the norms and values of society" (Dahrendorf 1959: 94)

For Renner, the service-class - unlike the working-class - is not in a wage relationship with capital but rather a contractual one for which a salary is awarded. The service contract is a measure of the trust placed in the official not only to carry out the instructions of the employer but also to proffer advice which is in the employer's best interests⁴. Although the origins of the service-class might have been in public administration, its membership, according to Renner, has now spread to those running private enterprises and organizing welfare services.

The service-class has then become a term for distinguishing the more powerful members of the middle-class from less powerful and more menial non-manual workers. Studies of the service-class have been very uneven and different writers have studied different sections of the service-class according to their theoretical allegiances and interests (Savage forthcoming). Marxists have generally focused on managers and ignored professionals and welfare professionals (for example, Smith 1987c⁵; Daniel Bell (1973), with his concern for the role of information and planning, concentrated on the professionals at the expense of managers; C Wright Mills's (1951) focus on the growth of organization determined his interest in bureaucrats and administrators. Thus different theorists have a different focus on class formation depending on their view of class position. Interestingly, all ignore the self-employed sector which, it has been argued, comprises one of the most dynamic sectors of service-class growth (Savage 1988a). Since there is no clear consensus about what constitutes either the class structure or class formation of the middle-class, it tends to be defined in relation to the dominant and subordinate classes on either side of it (Savage forthcoming) and in terms of what it is not - 'the neither/nor class' (Jager 1986). More than any other class, it is difficult to see how to define it in non-relativistic terms⁶.

Given this ambiguity of definition, it can be small surprise that there is little agreement about the sources of social and political consciousness amongst the service-class. Goldthorpe (1982) sees it as a relatively homogeneous and politically conservative group, acting to preserve its relatively privileged interests. He adopts therefore a rather crude 'imputed interest model' whereby economic interests are assumed to manifest themselves in non-economic social structures. Urry (1981) suggests that economic positions take on widely different social significance in 'civil society'. In the case of the service-class, particularly where its members are involved in the state and the organization of welfare, this 'structuration problem' is likely to be extremely complex and interests to be highly mediated. In this case, economic interests are likely to be associated with non-economic aspects of state policy and such state employees are likely to subscribe to the non-economic goals of the organizations to which they are

professionally committed. In other words, some members of the service-class are likely to espouse a service, as opposed to capitalist, ideology whilst others in more aggressively private sector companies are likely to espouse a capitalist ideology.

Abercrombie and Urry (1983) grant the service-class 'causal powers'; these are, more often than not, based on the possession of credentials and involve following an exclusionary strategy towards those not possessing appropriate credentials. Abercrombie and Urry do not however, see internal divisions within the service-class as of major significance. Other approaches to the service-class, notably that adopted by Savage and his various co-authors (1988 etc), see it as an internally divided class with different fractions pursuing different occupational, social and political strategies. This discussion is pursued in chapter three below.

Two key issues emerge from this discussion of the service-class; firstly that of its class structure and its boundaries, and secondly, that of its class formation and the manner in which it is internally divided and how those divisions manifest themselves. Abercrombie and Urry (1983), and later Lash and Urry (1987), ignore the boundary problem posed by class structure and concentrate on the manner in which the service-class acts. An apparent weakness in Lash and Urry's perspective therefore is that it operates primarily at the level of the social formation and so, as they acknowledge, it sidesteps the boundary problem.

A major problem then in analysing the service-class is clarifying the relationship between class structure and class formation. There is a danger that those who focus on class structure will 'read off' class formation and interests in an overly mechanistic manner (broadly Goldthorpe's position) but conversely there are equal dangers in focusing on class formation and defining class boundaries solely in terms of class interest (broadly the approach of Urry and his various co-authors). Savage draws upon Wright's (1985b) class typology in an attempt to co-locate issues of class structure and class formation in one theoretical model which, he claims, is able to account for how different

fractions within the service-class display different forms of social consciousness; this proposal is discussed in the next chapter. The next two sections of this chapter consider Goldthorpe's and Urry's positions in greater detail.

A dominant and conservative class

Goldthorpe (1982), like Renner, appears to suggest that the service-class is a clearly constituted class, albeit one in its early stages of formation. In part at least, he develops his analysis from the empirical findings of his work on social mobility (Goldthorpe 1980) which shows a rapid growth in his social classes 1 and 2 which he rather arbitrarily terms the service-class. His starting point is that there has been no satisfactory attempt to give an account *'of the sociological and political significance of higher-level white collar employment'* (1982:166), although he does concede that the various and, in his view, unsuccessful attempts to identify a 'new class' have succeeded in pointing to the 'desiderata' upon which an account might be built.

Goldthorpe identifies 'trust' as the key concept in defining the class structure of the service-class. In the same manner that the working-class is defined, in Marxist terms at least, by its wage relationship to capital so for Goldthorpe (and Renner) the key issue is the 'service contract' which involves a set of moral obligations between the employer and employee. This is important because, if an employer is to delegate authority and also if s/he is to seek professional advice, then s/he must know that the employee is acting in his/her best interests

"Those employees to whom authority is delegated or to whom responsibility for specialist functions is assigned are thereby given some legitimate area of autonomy and discretion. And it must then pro tanto be a matter of trust that they will act - ie will make decisions, choices, judgements, etc - in ways that are consistent with organisational goals and values, In other words, how well these employees perform from the standpoint of the organisation will in crucial respects depend on the degree of their moral commitment to the organisation rather than on the efficacy of 'external' sanctions and rewards" (Goldthorpe 1982: 169)

As a result, the service-class employee is rewarded with more favourable remuneration, conditions of service, security of tenure and, crucially, career advancement prospects than the ordinary employee. In essence, according to Goldthorpe, there is a long term set of moral obligations between the two and, whereas the wage employee receives a wage for a fairly tightly defined task, the service relationship is less specific and refers to "*'compensation' and 'consideration' in return for the acceptance of an obligation to discharge trust 'faithfully'*" (1982: 169). It is both their work and market situations which distinguish them from other groups of employees.

Goldthorpe denies that this definition of the service-class embraces disparate groups who occupy different positions in the division of labour, notably professionals on the one hand and managers and administrators on the other. Despite the fact that these groups perform often quite different functions, he argues that it is the trust to carry out their role faithfully for the employing class both in terms of delegated authority (managers/administrators) and as providers of specialist advice (professionals) that defines them as members of a common class. The boundary problem he identifies as being between them and the classes above and below them (1982: 170). Following Renner, he argues that ultimately members of the service-class are propertyless employees and so are separated from the class that appoints them. The nature of this class is unimportant and can, he suggests, be conceived of as a ruling or capitalist class or a series of ruling elites without weakening the case for the existence of a service-class. The boundary between the service-class and those below it is based around the lack of prospects of the latter.

The concept of trust becomes the basis for defining the service-class both in relation to its class boundaries and its lack of internal divisions. Trust firstly welds together members of the service-class who occupy different positions in the division of labour and then secondly distinguishes them from the rest of the non-manual and manual non property-owning classes. I have two objections to this. First it takes 'definition by

attribution', which is always a dubious procedure⁷, further than seems reasonable and secondly it conflates issues of class structure and class formation. Goldthorpe accepts that there are possible sources of internal division amongst the service-class such as whether its members work in the public or private sector, their position in the division of labour and individual differences of wealth and income, but denies ultimately that these cleavages have any significance for class formation. This has important consequences for his understanding its interests and patterns of socio-political action.

Goldthorpe thus evades the question of class formation, which he rightly sees as the intervening variable between the position the service-class occupies in the class structure and its socio-political self-expression, by claiming that it is still in a process of evolution. There are, he says, two aspects to class formation; firstly demographic and secondly that of socio-cultural identity. The former refers to the extent to which classes *'acquire a demographic identity - that is, become identifiable as collectivities through the continuity by which individuals and families retain their class structure over time'* (1982: 172). The latter refers to the extent to which a common and identifiable lifestyle emerges together with *'patterns of preferred association'* (ibid). He argues that these have not emerged mainly because of the speed with which the service-class has developed over recent years, growing from approximately 5% of the population in the early decades of the twentieth century to in excess of 25% now. The reasons for its growth, he suggests, are less important than the consequences, which are twofold. Firstly, in order to grow it has had to recruit widely from other social classes with the consequence that only about one third of its members are the offspring of parents who held similar positions. Second, as a result of this widespread recruitment from outside the service-class, he claims that many of its members have a low level of formal qualification and thus of cultural capital; this is particularly marked in the administrative and managerial strata.

"As a result, therefore, of their wide basis of recruitment and the possibly very variable levels of education and training of their members, the service-classes of present day Western societies can be expected to have only a rather low degree of both demographic and socio-cultural identity. To the extent that the

individuals occupying service-class positions are 'first-generation', with diverse social origins, backgrounds and biographies, they are likely in turn to follow more diverse life-styles and to be involved in more socially heterogeneous patterns of association than would be characteristic of members of a class at a relatively high level of formation" (Goldthorpe 1982: 175)

He suggests that evidence from social mobility research indicates that the service-class is a very stable class with little movement out of it and that therefore there is every prospect that it will relatively rapidly develop both a demographic and socio-cultural identity. He claims, for example, that amongst recent recruits to the service-class, only a very small percentage report having no ties of sociability with other members of the service-class.

Finally, he claims that differences between 'situses' in the service-class are unlikely to '*prove a source of major socio-cultural differentiation*' (1982: 178). He supports this contention by arguing that the boundaries are fairly fluid and that many professionals progress to administrative or managerial jobs as they become more senior but also, inter-generationally, sons (sic)⁸ of managers and administrators are more likely to follow them into professional careers

"In sum, it may reasonably be supposed that a broad similarity in life-styles prevails from one situs to another, and that cross-situs social ties are quite extensive" (1982: 179)

Goldthorpe is careful to deny that he is making any definite claims for socio-political action given the relatively unformed nature of the service-class. It would, he argues, be a mistake to project an identity onto the class, on the basis of the behaviour of those who constitute it, because of the 'varied trajectories' by which its members have arrived in the service-class. These may well change, he reasons, when the class has become more stable and is able to impose a process of internal socialization upon its members.

Despite this, he points to a class which he sees as relatively undifferentiated internally and essentially conservative in outlook. His rationale for this claim is derived

from the defining characteristic of the service-class which, as he sees it, is its position of delegated authority or specialised knowledge which is the basis of favoured conditions of employment and advancement for its members. He argues that it is reasonable to assume that it will act in defence of those privileges and that its general outlook will therefore be conservative (1982: 180). Crucially, the service-class will want to police the space below it in order to maintain its relative privilege. Thus Goldthorpe claims there is little chance of a political alliance with the working-class as some 'new class' theorists have claimed.

"The expectation must rather be - unless powerful countervailing influences can be identified - that these employees will in the main act in the way that is characteristic of members of privileged strata, that is, that they will seek to use the superior resources that they possess in order to preserve their positions of relative social power and advantage, for themselves and their children. Indeed, it would already seem rather clear that the legitimacy ideology to which the service-class will primarily resort in the context of distributional conflict is that of 'meritocracy' - with the definition and criteria of merit so conceived as to maximise its members' competitive advantages" (Goldthorpe 1982: 180-1)

In other words, because of its substantial investment in the status quo, it is likely to support it and practise an 'exclusionary strategy' based around 'credentialism' (Parkin 1974). The service-class and working-class in this analysis then are likely to be involved in a conflictual relationship and, whilst service-class members may wish to reduce the control over them from above, they will also wish to remain in control of those below them. He argues strongly against there being any structural basis for service-class radicalism, instances of it are likely to be intermittent and to diminish as the class establishes itself; indeed he refers to radicalism as reflecting the 'growing pains' of the class. Finally, he dismisses the argument that the service-class will turn against the ruling class if the economic system is unable to grant its continued privileges. He argues that there is no rule which says that in periods of economic stress classes turn to political dissidence; on the contrary, he suggests there is some evidence that disparities between classes grow. Evidence shows that the service-class has been relatively insulated against unemployment and the burden of the recession of the 1980s fell on the working-class (Goldthorpe 1986). He also reminds us that in such times in the past the service-classes

have often supported right wing groups in their attempts at 'buttressing the capitalist order' (1982: 184).

Goldthorpe therefore sees the service-class as a class in formation, yet at the same time he claims it has deeply conservative instincts in defence of the status quo and its position as the trusted lieutenants of, or advisers to, the ruling class (however defined). He sees it as axiomatic that it will defend its privileged position by maximising its distance from the working-class and thus rules out the possibility of political radicalism - other than as a short term aberration. He dismisses contrary claims because any such radicals' 'trajectory' into the service-class is likely to be atypical. This does not, however, prevent him claiming that it is a homogeneous class with little significant difference between its various 'situses'. He rules out any possibility of different groupings within it defining their interests and expressing their socio-political action in divergent ways. For example, whilst he refers to the split within the service-class between public and private sector, he does not develop the idea; presumably because it does not contribute to class formation. He speculates very precisely that public sector service-class members may respond to neo-liberal economic policies in quite different ways from those occupying professional and managerial positions who might benefit from such policies - as has happened in the Thatcher years (Goldthorpe 1982). It is perhaps surprising therefore that he omits any reference to the rôle of those organizing welfare who could be expected, for reasons of self-interest and professional commitment, to be opposed to long term reductions in public expenditure. His commitment to a single class expression stemming from the 'service relationship' based on trust does not seem sustainable, particularly in the light of developments of the late 1980s and the estrangement of many professional groups from government policy⁹.

A class possessed of causal powers

Goldthorpe assumes the service-class is essentially a 'parasitic' class, dependent on the ruling or employing class for its 'place in the sun', from which he concludes that

its basic expression is conservative. He also claims that it is a class that is still in formation, many of its current members received their primary socialization in another class of origin, and which therefore has not yet developed a demographic or socio-cultural identity. In contrast, Abercrombie and Urry (1983) claim that

"the service-class is best seen as produced by a hierarchy of processes. The mechanisms of the capitalist mode of production require the functions of conceptualization, control and reproduction to be performed and they produce sets of places comprising specific market and work situations, which we call classes. In the case of the service-class, there is a coincidence of function and class place, though not for deskilled white-collar workers. Persons with certain market capacities are recruited to class places" (Abercrombie and Urry 1983: 126)

A key variable in the relation between work and market situations is the manner in which recruitment to the service-class takes place and this varies between societies and over time within a given society

"Since recruitment to the service-class is largely based on the possession of credentials, the degree to which an education system is open to persons of all classes will determine the pattern of entry to the service-class. Indeed, the manner in which persons are recruited to class is of crucial importance, not in directly determining class places, but in determining class and other social practices, which in turn influence those factors which determine class places"(Abercrombie and Urry 1983: 126)

Class action and class struggle therefore are the important determinants of class formation¹⁰:

"One cannot account for the class structure of contemporary capitalist society as if it were uniquely determined by the economy, for the struggles of classes and other social forces affect the very processes that determine classes" (Abercrombie and Urry 1983: 127)

In contrast to Goldthorpe (1982), Abercrombie and Urry take the view that it is the process of class formation which affects the class structure of the service-class. In other words, it has developed as a 'class-in-itself' with 'causal powers' concerned, as we have seen, with 'control, conceptualization and reproduction' and it is these causal

powers that define the service-class and give it a degree of autonomy from the ruling class.

"Analysing social classes in terms of potentially realisable causal powers both dispenses with the relatively trivial Boundary Problem and indicates that contemporary capitalist societies will vary considerably in the forms and patterns of stratification displayed. Our general claim that the service class is a relatively powerful entity in modern capitalist society should not conceal the historical and comparative variations identifiable, especially resulting from the particular forms of civil society and the state"(Abercrombie and Urry 1983: 154)

A key claim made by Abercrombie and Urry for the service-class is that its exercise of causal powers affects the constitution of capital itself (1983:123); this marks a significant departure from the work of both Renner and Goldthorpe. This theme is taken up by Lash and Urry (1987) who argue that

"Once attaining a certain threshold of development and mobilization, this new class itself begins to have a dislocating effect on the relationship between capital and labour and an irredeemably disorganizing effect on capitalist society in general" (Lash and Urry 1987: 162)

6 cm A major sub-theme of *The End of Organized Capital* (Lash and Urry 1987) is the rise of the service-class; its authors elucidate a series of key points about the service-class which are largely a restatement of those arrived at in Abercrombie and Urry (1983). They retain conceptualization, control and regulation of reproduction as the key functions of the service-class in 'servicing' the needs of capital. They reiterate the key distinction of the possession of credentials as marking the 'boundary' between themselves and 'deskilled white collar workers'¹¹. Once more they express the role of active class struggles in the definition of the service-class

"The relative size, the power, and the composition (male/female, public/private) of the service-class vary substantially, depending upon class conflicts between capital and labour; gender conflicts, particularly over attempts to professionalize/masculinize occupations; struggles to extend educational credentialism; attempts to 'professionalize' particular sets of work tasks; conflicts over the size, functions and organization of the state; sectoral changes in the economy, and so on"(Lash and Urry 1987): 162)

Lash and Urry argue that although the historical origins of the service-class lie in the *'interstices of organized capitalism'* (1987: 161), its current role is as a leading actor in the process of disorganizing capitalism. As the working-class becomes fragmented so the service-class has grown in stature and importance.

"Economic change, most notably in the effects on the occupational structure connected with the accumulation of capital, is subsequently the precondition of disorganization of civil society. The latter, most visible in multiplication and fragmentation of interest groups - inside and outside the labour movement - is itself the precondition of the disorganization of the state, in the ideal-typical model, instantiated in, for example, the decline of neo-corporatism, the development of the catch-all party, and class dealignment.

We should also stress that what is meant here by 'disorganized capitalism' is radically different from what other writers have spoken of in terms of 'post-industrial' or 'information' society. Unlike the post-industrial commentators we think that capitalist social relations continue to exist. For us a certain level of capital accumulation is a necessary condition of capitalism's disorganized era in which the capitalist class continues to be dominant. When we argue for the increased centrality of the professional-managerial or 'service' class, we shall not contend that such salience poses an obstacle to the accumulation of capital. Indeed it has been on balance, we shall argue, functional for such accumulation" (Lash and Urry 1987: 7-8)

They claim that the service-class originated in the struggle between capital and modern managerialism in the United States in the early years of the twentieth century. This had a number of implications for both the growth of American capitalism and relations between classes

"We would claim that the strength of American capital, particularly on a world-wide scale, the weakness of American labour and the growth of credentialism and generally of an education based system of stratification, all stem from the making of the American 'service-class'. This class possesses considerable 'causal powers' and by comparison with France and the UK, these have been substantially realized in the USA. What then are these causal powers? They are to restructure capitalist societies so as to maximize the divorce between conception and execution and to ensure the elaboration of highly differentiated and specific structures within which knowledge and science can be developed and sustained. These powers thus involve the deskilling of productive labourers; the maximizing of the educational requirements of places within the social division of labour and the minimizing of non-educational /non-achievement criteria for recruitment to such places; and the enhancement of the resources and income devoted to education and science (whether this is privately or publicly funded) (Lash and Urry 1987: 177-8)

The main lines of social conflict were thus drawn between capital and the service-class as opposed to capital and labour. In Britain, by contrast, management never became a profession and either remained the province of the 'educated amateur' or the 'practical man'. Lash and Urry claim that there are a number of reasons for this, all connected with their thesis about how British capitalism remained 'liberal' and resisted organization from the top longer than other countries. The role of capital exports and of the City as a separate source of financial capital and also of professional employment are unique to Britain. In Britain the professions followed a gentry model of 'status professionalism' rather than a bourgeois model of 'occupational professionalism' and this, combined with the spatial significance of London, ensured that even new professions such as engineering acquired the veneer of tradition (Lash and Urry 1987: 185). The professions together with the Church, were intimately connected with higher education, the judiciary, the civil service, the landed aristocracy and all of the institutions that made up the British elite (Perkin 1989). Thus the professions were firmly identified with capital and social conflict remained primarily between capital and labour.

The service-class did not really emerge in Britain, according to Lash and Urry, until the 1960s and it is this which accounts for its different set of priorities

"When the British service-class began to form itself [in the 1960s] , it did so heavily under the sway of what Bernice Martin calls the expressive professionals, mainly employees within the state and concerned with extending and protecting the welfare services. Such employees in Britain gave a particular direction to the British service-class and made it less obviously tied into private capital, private foundations and private educational institutions . When the British service-class did develop it was very much something that was state-sponsored and occurred during the period in which British political culture was peculiarly 'progressivist' and when the long post-war boom ensured fairly high levels of welfare expenditure" (Lash and Urry 1987: 186)

The service-class emerges in different ways in different countries and it engages in conflicts in order to ensure its own survival. These struggles may include credentialist struggles to restrict access from below to professionalized areas of employment, but they

may also entail conflict with capital. This can have the consequence of reshaping capital. This has already happened in the United States and is now taking place in Britain although in Britain the state retains greater control of the economy and reproduction than in the USA.

Lash and Urry share with Goldthorpe a view that there is essentially a single service-class which has a common set of interests; they disagree with him about the direction of those interests and favour a more sophisticated model of how the service-class operates at a political level. Where Goldthorpe emphasises the inherent conservatism of the service-class because of the trust relationship, Lash and Urry point to the potential anti-authoritarian radical individualism which is part of what they term the 'postmodern' condition.

"We then argue that sections of the service-class use postmodern cultural goods to challenge traditionalist culture. That is, that postmodern cultural goods are in the 'ideal interests' of these 'new middle-classes', who, in their rise, will benefit from the extent to which the whole of society comes to share their valuations of such cultural forms" (Lash and Urry 1987: 288)

They suggest that the fragmentation of class cultures, the spread of electronic mass media and disruptions in time and space all add up to a situation where individuals become more decentred and so susceptible to the reception of postmodern culture¹². Their argument on the service-class is, of course, bound up with their argument on the disorganization of capital; a process in which the service-class is an active agent. Service-class members are then the most likely transmitters as well as receivers of the symbols that constitute postmodern culture. This has direct implications for the constitution of the service-class as the class possessing not only powers of conceptualization, control and organization of reproduction but also the 'cultural capital' and specialized knowledge to create and disseminate such symbols. Lash and Urry draw on Bourdieu for a definition of new sections of the service-class who are able to manipulate the transmission and reception of such postmodern symbolism. The control

of such symbolism is the basis of 'post modern'¹³ methods of 'conceptualization, control and organization of reproduction' and involves

" 'All occupations involving presentation and representation' and occupations in all institutions providing symbolic goods and services. Much of this entails the 'symbolic work of producing needs' in advertising and sales, but also in public-sector jobs which involve the production of needs for public services as well as the provision of those services in for example day care centres, drug abuse centres and in race relations. This new 'cultural' petite bourgeoisie thus includes those active in medical and social assistance (marriage guidance, sex therapists, dieticians, vocational guidance) and those involved in direct 'cultural production and organization' (youth leaders, tutors and monitors, radio and TV producers and presenters, magazine journalists). The new petite-bourgeoisie typically contains individuals whose quantity and quality of cultural capital does not tally well with other of their social characteristics, and especially individuals whose educational qualifications are lower than their social capital and social origins, and those who occupy 'positions which hold the highest profits for non-certified cultural capital'. This status inconsistent new petit-bourgeoisie can follow several career trajectories and strategies to success and often to membership of the new bourgeoisie. They, for example, often struggle to create jobs suited to their ambitions, even in the public sector in which semi-voluntary jobs have gained public-service status and local government finance. They can succeed through professionalization strategies, through struggles to legitimate new licences and certifications, partly through the promotion of a 'therapeutic morality' as legitimating ideology, as in the case of for example, sexologists and marriage guidance counsellors. They can, Bourdieu holds finally, succeed 'by the symbolic violence needed to create and sell new products' and/or through social capital which, in areas such as television, journalism and the cinema, brings people into jobs, and the social capital of new contacts which once in jobs helps them to stay there" (Lash and Urry 1987: 295)

The service-class is 'fluid' both in the position it occupies in a rapidly-changing society and in its ability to exercise new exclusionary and inclusionary strategies to establish new positions within the service-class. These new skills are often the new forms of domination whether through symbolic media gesture or via forms of individualistic therapeutic intervention. Thus the technologies and personnel of methods of conceptualization, control and orchestration of reproduction may change but their function remains broadly similar - on the one hand the domination of subordinate classes and on the other of struggles against the capitalist class.

Lash and Urry identify three quite separate functions for the service-class - control, conceptualization and orchestration of reproduction - yet they do not appear to be open to the suggestion that each will respond to changing economic and social circumstances in different ways (Savage 1988a). Savage and Fielding (1989) draw attention to the spatial aspect of service-class growth, which is ignored by other accounts.

"In short, we believe that Goldthorpe's (1982) argument that the service-class will become increasingly cohesive as it becomes more self-recruiting is cast into doubt if the significance of spatial mobility is registered. The service-class remains a highly mobile social class in spatial terms, and this is likely to forestall the prospect of social and political cohesion. A similar point applies to Lash and Urry's argument about the pivotal role of the service-class in causing social change in modern capitalist societies. Their basic argument is that the service-class is instrumental in helping to 'disorganize' capitalism, reducing the strong ties between economy and polity, and undermining the centrality of the capital-labour cleavage. Yet what is clear from our account is that the service-class is itself becoming disorganized. Difference in regional rates of social mobility mean that the idea of a nationally based service-class is today in doubt." (Savage and Fielding 1989: 216)

How do many of the new occupations, such as in marketing and the sale of financial and other services, fit into the 'conceptualization and control of production' and the 'orchestration of reproduction definition'? With difficulty it would seem.

Crompton (1990) locates work on the service class in a wider context of theorising social class, and draws in particular on Lockwood's (1966) typology of (working class) 'images of society' which argues, broadly, that different images of the social map will be held by those occupying different spaces in the occupational division of labour. The broad thrust of Crompton's argument is that we should expect the same, if not greater, diversity of view amongst the service class

"...as the proportion of the occupied population in higher-level professional and managerial occupations, and thus the heterogeneity of this grouping, increases, so to does the diversity of social consciousness within it" (Crompton 1990: 20)

She traces the origins of the debate over the service class back to the 1960s and the recognition that occupations were becoming 'upgraded'. Some theorists argued that this led to an 'end of ideology' conclusion, finally disproving marxist theories (Bell 1960). Others, more radically, developed 'new class' theories with the associated possibilities for new forms of social consciousness (Gouldner 1979; Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979). Crompton concludes that Goldthorpe (1982; 1980) and Lash & Urry (1987) come to radically differing conclusions on the service class. Goldthorpe sees it as an 'emerging' class which will attract a socio-cultural identity and whose primary political orientation will be conservative. Lash & Urry's perspective is different in that they concentrate on the 'causal powers' associated with the service class. They see its primary role as being to weaken the causal powers of the working class; although it has 'grown up' with organized capitalism it has played a key role in its disorganization. In contrast to Goldthorpe who sees the service class as having a 'stabilizing influence' on class structure, Lash and Urry see it as destabilizing existing social relationships.

A way forward for the service-class?

Crompton's analysis provides an indication of the way this dilemma might be resolved. She argues that Goldthorpe and Lash and Urry start from different positions; Goldthorpe sees the service-class as the crystallization of positions within the occupational structure whereas Lash & Urry see it as an outcome of 'class processes'. Goldthorpe is concerned with trends in occupational inequality whereas Lash & Urry are interested in the development of capitalist societies. Thus the 'boundary problem' (ie who fits a particular definition of the service class) is likely to lie at the heart of these debates over the homogeneity/heterogeneity of the service class. Crompton criticizes both authors for being too narrowly concerned with occupational divisions and not taking into account sectoral, sectional, gender and other divisions. The origins of the service-class, she feels, are considerably broader than the conflict between labour and capital. This criticism is aimed particularly at Lash & Urry:

"There is a constant tendency in their account to discuss industrial managerialism as a proxy for the 'service-class' as a whole" (Crompton 1990: 7).

Moreover, by concentrating on the homogeneity of the service-class, neither have satisfactorily accounted for the increase in professional and higher-level managerial occupations.

Her own argument, drawing from Lockwood's 1966 typology, is that there are likely to be different sections of the service-class with different world-views and these may 'impact' differently on the course of events. She argues that there is no one way of organizing capitalism and that the service-class is likely to reflect this. There will be a range of influences which will determine their social consciousness which include occupation but also family of origin, social background, gender and experience of higher education. Like Lockwood, she argues that people's consciousness will vary according to their experience. In particular though, she argues that there are two main ways of regulating 'expert labour': professionalism and organizational corporatism. The first is organized around the occupation and depends on what she terms 'institutionalized altruism' whilst the second is based around the organization and is derived from 'the human relations school' of industrial relations. Each have rather different outcomes as far as the development of social consciousness is concerned and, she suggests, this may be a major dimension of 'difference' amongst the service class.

"Goldthorpe has argued ... that the 'service class' will somehow act in its own 'interests'; Lash & Urry, that the 'service class' is a contributory element in the development of 'disorganized capitalism'. It is not being denied here that occupational groups do have a tendency to act in their own interests, nor that a competition with a 'class' is likely to result in fragmentation and disorganization. However, it is being argued that the very diversity which is recognized by both authors may as a consequence produce groupings who do not always act in their own narrow self-interests, as well as those who would produce powerful arguments (and actions) in the direction of the organization, rather than the disorganization, of capitalism.

...rather than there being a linear trend in the particular direction of 'disorganization', both 'organizing' and 'disorganizing' tendencies are present in modern capitalist societies and [that] these are discernible in the variety of social perspectives that may be identified within the heterogeneous grouping which has been described as the 'service class'." (Crompton 1990: 20-1)

Both Goldthorpe and Lash and Urry (and also Abercrombie and Urry) are deficient in their account of the service-class. The main weakness lies in their attempt to conceptualize the service-class as a single, homogeneous class and to locate it too narrowly within the occupational structure. In particular, the omission of any reference to spatial difference and the ways in which occupational and spatial differences may 'cross cut' each other needs to be addressed. In the next chapter, I look at how this might be achieved in the context of other studies of the service class and an attempt is made to relate this aspect of service-class formation to gentrification. Gentrification can be seen as a form of 'residential credentialism' for a section of the service-class. This provides a context for chapter four, which is concerned with how the literature on gentrification might throw some light on the question of divisions within the service-class.

¹ In the North American literature the debate has centred around the growth of what has been called the 'new class' and involves a similar set of issues except that the service class has been longer established and is more clearly anchored in the private sector (Gouldner 1979; Lash and Urry 1987)

²The definition of 'advanced' now seems somewhat anachronistic encompassing, as it did, workers in aerospace, car manufacture and steel.

³The Norman Macrae thesis (adumbrated endlessly in The Economist in the 1970s) about how the industrial needs of the South African economy would change apartheid is an example of this approach.

⁴Crompton (1990) has pointed out that this leaves employers and capital in a difficult position when it comes to evaluating the worth of service-class employees and this has given rise to a whole industry of consultancies.

⁵Smith (1983) illustrates this point in his review of the 'new middle class' which equates this group entirely with private sector managers.

⁶This is also an operational problem, as the schema that have been drawn up to operationalize social class tend to derive from OPCS classifications which have innumerable detailed accounts of working class occupations but only broad categories for the service class which make it difficult to place such occupations as software analysts or psycho-analysts.

⁷See Johnson (1972) Professions and Power for a discussion of the problems of defining a social group by attribution.

⁸Goldthorpe has evinced considerable controversy by his insistence on confining his work on social mobility and class structure to father and sons (see the continuing debate in Sociology).

⁹Goldthorpe's claim that service-class formation is still at a nascent stage of development is becoming overtaken by events. He draws on the evidence from his own surveys which date from 1970, at which time it was possible that many of those who made up the growing service-class were relatively ill-

educated. By 1990 many of these people are reaching retirement age and the service-class is increasingly populated by a younger generation, many of whose parents were themselves members of the service-class and who would almost invariably have received some form of higher education.

¹⁰Indeed their position is not dissimilar to that adopted by EP Thompson in the Making of the English Working Class

"Class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs" (Thompson 1968: 10)

¹¹This an interesting difference with Goldthorpe who points out that the actual level of credentialism amongst the service class is relatively low. This may well be accounted for by the fact that Goldthorpe's data was gathered in 1970 (see note 9 above) on men who were already established within the service class.

¹²Giddens (1984) pursues a similar argument in his work on structuration.

¹³It is not altogether clear however, why postmodern culture is relevant to this discussion of the service class, since 'modernism' was also originally a product of earlier generations of the service-class.

CHAPTER THREE:

A FRAGMENTED AND SPATIALLY DISORGANIZED CLASS ?

Introduction

"We know little about the middle-class and their importance in the advanced capitalist societies. We therefore tend to fall back on a range of stereotypes: 'yuppies', 'bourgeois triumphalists', and latterly, 'woopies', (well-off older people). We believe that the service-class all drive Peugeot 205s, drink Perrier water, take yoga classes and gentrify old working-class areas, but in fact we have little systematic understanding of their broader social and political importance. We know little about their social and geographical mobility, their political alignments, and the ways in which they are affecting the circumstances of other subordinate social groups in the workplace or the 'community'." (Savage et al 1988: 455-6)

In this chapter, I develop the counterview to the argument that the service-class is a cohesive and nationally-constituted group; the counterview is that it is socially and spatially divided. The starting-point is work undertaken by Savage and his various collaborators (1988; 1989; 1990) which provides a context for my own perspective which argues that there are spatial divisions within the service-class but that these are more finely graded than suggested by Savage et al. The chapter concludes by looking at how this analysis of the service-class can be related to the phenomenon of gentrification, which is a process of spatially-specific consumption of housing.

A spatially divided class

It can be argued that Lash and Urry's definition of the service-class - as performing three distinctive roles for capital (conceptualization, control and orchestration of welfare) - suggests that, far from being a cohesive grouping, it is likely to be internally divided.

"There is in fact no reason to believe that people who orchestrate the provision of services will tend to act in similar ways to those who control the labour process" (Savage and Fielding 1989: 204)

Savage and Fielding note that most studies of the service-class, including their own, tend to use the term in a more descriptive than analytical sense, '*as a shorthand for senior administrative, professional and managerial workers*'(ibid). There is a fair measure of consensus about who is included but, since these groups do not necessarily share a common economic position, it is difficult to justify the argument that the service-class constitutes a single social class formation (Savage and Fielding 1989: 205). It may well be non-economic factors that account for its claimed coherence (Goldthorpe 1982; Abercrombie & Urry 1983; Lash & Urry 1987). In other words, its social identity lies in 'civil society' or elsewhere in the non-economic sphere (Urry 1981). Goldthorpe (1982) identifies trust as the hegemonic force, Lash and Urry (1987) imply that education and 'cultural capital' are important sources for cohesion, whereas Savage and Fielding (1989), following Goldthorpe (1980), identify social mobility as a key element in social formation.

Goldthorpe, as we have seen, claims that only about one third of the service-class came from service-class families and uses the high mobility into the service-class to explain its lack of class identity, on the grounds that it is still a 'class-in-formation'. Savage and Fielding (1989) suggest, in the context of this mobility, that spatial factors are highly influential in creating a class identity. They remind us that spatial factors have been important in creating a working-class identity (Lockwood 1966) and that this is an area which is ignored in mobility research (see also Savage 1988). In particular, they point to the fact that the South East of the country attracts most recruits to the service-class and so acts as an 'escalator' for the upwardly mobile

"It is an area where most people stand a better than average chance of moving into the service-class: an area of high upward mobility, and high spatial mobility into it by those seeking access to the service-class. It therefore plays a key role in forming the British service-class as a whole, yet it is also a zone of the service-class in transit; and hence is not a site where secure long-term ties are established" (Savage & Fielding 1989: 206)

They show that the class structure of the South East is more 'open' than other regions and, not only does it have more entries and exits from the service-class but also there is greater downward social mobility¹. They also note that the entry to the service-class in the South East from higher education is very high (1989: 213). Compared to other regions, the service-class in the South East is less well 'formed' because a lower proportion is recruited from service-class backgrounds than elsewhere. They conclude that the service-class in this region is more culturally and socially fragmented than elsewhere in the UK.

"Children from a working-class origin rely more on regional migration as a means of obtaining service-class employment than do service-class children" (Savage and Fielding 1989: 211)

Why do the service-class move to the South East? Savage and Fielding suggest that higher education plays an important role:

"Graduates appear to be highly spatially mobile, and once having qualified can move to the South East to take on these high-level jobs. Institutions of higher education, we would argue, function as agencies which remove youngsters from their place of origin (as they frequently leave their parental home at the start of their course), prevent them from 'putting down roots' in the place where the institute is located (the student grant usually prevents this), and helps create a group of qualified workers who are relatively unattached to a place by the time they graduate. They can therefore move to where the jobs they aspire to are located." (Savage and Fielding 1989: 216).

The main weakness in their argument is that they treat the South East as a whole, and do not distinguish between parts of it; for example, they assume that most service-class recruits move into converted flats in inner London and then, presumably having become a 'couple', move out elsewhere in the South East before perhaps eventually moving out of the region altogether. This may be the case for many younger members of the service-class but ignores the fact that some will remain as inner-city gentrifiers, put down roots and establish families (Warde 1991). For some gentrification is permanent, for others it is not. This is not to disagree with the analysis they propose but to suggest that it needs to be dis-aggregated further on an intra-regional basis².

Savage provides some of the means for doing this by attempting to disentangle different 'micro strategies' employed by the service-class for enhancing their mobility. He identifies three 'mobility strategies' which are open to the service-class; these are entrepreneurial, organizational and occupational and each has a different relationship to spatial mobility (1988b: 560). The theoretical provenance of these strategies is the work of Eric Olin Wright (1985b). The first two are relatively well-established: the entrepreneurial strategy relies on accumulating capital through setting up a small business and, almost by definition, is restricted to a given spatial location. This is an important strategy, particularly given the increased emphasis on self-employment and small businesses but service-class theorists tend to ignore the self-employed. The organizational strategy is that of the traditional middle-class 'spiralists' who work their way up through organizations within the public or private sector; these moves usually, and often as a matter of policy by employers, involve moving around the country or, in the case of multinationals, the globe (Watson 1964). There are significant differences between those working in the corporate sector or for central government and those working in local government or organizations such as higher education or the National Health Service. In the case of the latter, there is a job market in different authorities, hospitals etc. which, nevertheless, remain part of a 'national local system' (Dunleavy 1980). Savage (forthcoming) notes that those practising this strategy, particularly in the corporate sector, where educational credentialism is less well-established, possess skills which are often only of value within the organization in which they work. This conception of the service-class has given rise to the stereotype 'Organization man' who tends to be loyal to the organization but not to the locality. Recent studies of the service-class in the housing market tend to reinforce this view of the hypermobile service-class family man (Forest and Murie 1987a), but it may be that the subjects were representative of a fraction of the service-class rather than the class as a whole.

It is Savage's third strategy, the occupational, which he suggests is becoming increasingly common in 'New Times':

"Alongside a 'traditional' service-class based in the public sector and large companies, there is a new service-class, very much the product of the last decade or so, which tends to work in small firms or be self-employed. The growth of this latter group has major implications for older patterns of social and geographical mobility, and in turn this affects political propensities of the service-class."
(Savage et al 1988: 457)

Once educational credentials have been acquired and a basic 'apprentice' training undertaken, members of this new skilled elite remain in 'high tech' areas and sell their skills to the highest bidder, often on a self-employed basis. It is

"decreasingly likely that careers will be based solely on one organization. Instead there is a growing reliance on occupational strategies and entrepreneurial ones." (Savage 1988b: 570)

Firms dependent on this kind of labour tend to congregate in the same areas creating the market for these skills (Massey 1984).

Whilst this section of the service-class is likely to be highly committed to a 'market' valuation of their occupational skills, this does not necessarily imply that this determines the overall political outlook of this group. Its members are, for example, quite likely to display a greater commitment to local and environmental issues than the spatially-mobile middle-class spiralist (Crompton 1990). This is, of course, more a function of their local roots than their occupational strategy per se but since their 'localism' is - largely - an outcome of their occupational strategy the two are closely related. It does, nevertheless, have important consequences for their political and social 'world view'. Given the disparity in regional house prices and the increase in dual-income families, *'service-class workers tend to get locked into particular regional housing markets'* (Savage 1988b: 571). In the South East, at least, the improved infrastructure enables people to commute over a wide distance³. This group is therefore not tied to local labour markets like the working-class but nor to a national labour market, as with the more traditional middle-class, but to a regional labour market. Savage, unfortunately, does not follow up the observation about the behaviour of dual-income families which is as likely to have a major impact on the mobility patterns of the service-

class as their occupational strategy and to reinforce the commitment to a given regional labour market (but see Warde 1991).

"Service-class careers seem to be increasingly tied to a regional labour and housing market, whilst working-class ones are to a local labour market. This difference may well cause differences in the type of politics pursued: fundamental to middle-class struggles will be the need to improve regional infrastructures to enhance travel to work opportunities rather than to provide employment opportunities in any one specific place." (Savage 1988b: 574)

The national implications of this argument are interesting for the restructuring of political loyalties, suggesting that, outside the South East, there are more likely to be class alliances on the basis of localism whereas in the South East this is less likely. This is debatable.

Savage et al's (1988) study of a local labour market in Berkshire supports the occupational mobility strategy outlined above. They identify a group of managers and technical workers who are spatially immobile but occupationally highly mobile. Annual turnover rates amongst computer professionals approach 50%, whilst even professional grades in the Health Authority have rates of approximately 25% with a similar pattern being reported by local authorities, suggesting a convergence between public and private sector labour markets. The problem with this evidence of course, is that the service-class labour market in Berkshire is atypical both nationally and within the South East as a whole. Nevertheless, although it only provides evidence from one area, it does point to significant spatial variations operating within the service-class. The weakness in the argument lies in the authors' conception of the region, which is considerably more varied than they allow for⁴.

The authors pose the question as to whether their discovery of significant divisions within the service-class leaves us with a service-class in any useful sense. Savage et al (1988a) suggest the theoretical class framework offered by Wright (1985b) may be useful for conceptualizing these cleavages within the service-class. Given the terminology used above for describing service-class strategies as entrepreneurial,

organizational and occupational, it might be reasonable to suggest that the strategies might be a 'post hoc' rationalization of Wright's theoretical categories⁵.

The outcome of Wright’s class classification is the familiar matrix of property, organization and skill assets each of which can be positively, neutrally or negatively advantaged, thus giving twelve class positions (Wright 1985: 88).

Figure 3.1: Wright's Class Typology

Assets in the means of production					
Owners	Non Owners (wage labourers)				
1 Bourgeois	4 Expert Managers	7 Semi-credentialed managers	10 Un-credentialed Managers	+ <i>Managers</i>	Organization assets
2 Small Employers	5 Expert Supervisors	8 Semi-credentialed Supervisors	11 Uncredentialed Supervisors	>0 <i>Supervisors</i>	
3 Petit Bourgeoisie	6 Expert non Managers	9 Semi-credentialed Workers	12 Proletarians	- <i>Non managers</i>	
	+ <i>Experts</i>	>0 <i>Skilled Employees</i>	- <i>Non- skilled</i>		
	Skill/credential assets				

Social groups can be positively or negatively advantaged in different assets simultaneously, thus occupying contradictory class locations. The middle-classes

"will typically hold contradictory interests with respect to the primary forms of class struggle in capitalist society, the struggle between labour and capital. On the one hand, they are like workers in being excluded from ownership of the means of production; on the other, they have interests opposed to workers because of their effective control of organization and skill assets" (Wright 1985: 87)

A major problem arises with the operationalization of the concepts, because this definition includes all those who are not either owners of capital or proletarians (Marshall et al 1988). In other words, Wright fails to overcome the major difficulty in

defining the service-class, which is to distinguish it from the remainder of the non-manual working-class. It does however, at least conceptually, permit some distinctions to be drawn between various locations in this group. Savage (1988) differentiates between those 'rich' in organization talents and those 'rich' in skill talents and argues that they constitute different sections of the service-class.

The traditional view of the service-class is to see its members as possessing organizational skills (Goldthorpe's 1982)⁶. Savage notes that, in practice, it is often difficult to distinguish between what is an organizational asset and what is a skill asset. Organizational assets are the least secure because they belong to the organization not the individual⁷ and so, Savage claims, those service-class members possessing organizational assets attempt to 'trade' them for property and skill assets (Savage forthcoming). In Britain, the housing market has facilitated the former and closure strategies based around credentialism are an example of attempts to transform existing organizational assets into those based on skill. Following Lash and Urry (1987), it might be argued that in disorganized capitalism organizational assets are less secure and skill assets command a premium.⁸

This is an extremely interesting thesis and I believe Savage et al are correct to draw attention to divisions within the service-class. The distinction they draw between reliance on an internal and an external labour market and how this relates housing and labour markets which, in turn, give rise to 'distinctive economic and political practices', is a convincing argument. The weakness in their argument appears to me to lie in the level of spatial aggregation chosen. Whilst there is little disagreement with their characterisation of the difference between the South East and the rest of the UK, differentiation within the service-class in the South East as a whole is ignored. There would seem *prima facie* grounds, for example, to differentiate between the service-class in free-standing towns in the South East and in London because of the differences in their industrial and occupational structures, in which case the differences are social and economic and not spatial. There are likely to be other overlaps between spatial and

occupational divisions, as indeed Savage (1990) recognizes. In this paper he acknowledges that there are significant differences in voting behaviour between managers and technical experts on the one hand and those working in the professions and public sector administration on the other. It is also likely these occupational divisions are concentrated in different localities.

In this paper, Savage is concerned with explaining middle-class⁹ politics with which, he points out, there are two major problems; first that there are no specific middle-class institutions and second that there are very few institutions which are not middle-class led (Savage 1990: 2). Most writing on the middle-class and politics is about its potential, rather than its actual, content. His analysis of the 1987 British General Election Survey (BGES) is an attempt to overcome these problems.

Goldthorpe (1980) suggests that there are 'situs' differences between professional and managerial workers but doubts their significance. On the basis of data from the 1983 and 1987 elections, the middle-class is only slightly more likely than the non-manual population as a whole to vote Conservative but Savage is able to show that splitting the middle-class into different SEGs shows greater inter-SEG variation than within the working-class. The identification of SEGs 3,4 and 5 with the SDP/Liberal Alliance suggests support for what Heath et al (1985) have identified as the 'creative and welfare professions'. This is consonant with other research suggesting that sectoral divisions are important in explaining voting divisions within the middle-class (Saunders 1990; Duke and Edgell 1984; Marshall 1988; Dunleavy 1980) but Savage argues that it is necessary to identify divisions between both 'public/nationalized industries/private' *sectors* and between 'managerial' and 'professional' *locations*. In the private and nationalized sectors, according to Savage (1990), managers are more likely to vote Conservative whilst professionals in the nationalized industries tend to vote the Alliance; in the public sector there is a clear anti-Conservative identification and, significantly, no variation between managers and professionals. He notes that public sector managers are twice as likely as those in the private sector to have a degree (19% versus 9%) and are

also more likely to have been previously employed in a professional role. Further, Savage shows that second generation managers are highly likely to vote Conservative (76%) whilst second generation professionals are unlikely to do so (43%); in fact amongst professionals, those who came from a non middle-class background were more likely to vote Conservative than those from a middle-class background. This suggests that background and education are important factors in explaining voting behaviour and class-identification amongst the middle-class.

"Whilst Goldthorpe's expectations about the increasing conservatism of the service-class caused by self recruitment seem true for managerial workers, they do not appear to be true for professional workers. It is simply not the case that 'mature' professionals are especially likely to vote Conservative: it is actually true that they are somewhat less likely to vote Conservative than is the electorate as a whole!" (Savage 1990: 14)

In attempting to theorise this, Savage argues that notions of professional autonomy (Johnson 1972, 1982) are mistaken since professionalism is at the centre, and not the periphery, of modern capitalism; this is particularly true of state employment where the relationship is particularly uneasy. Professionals rely on the state both as a source of employment and for their educational capital but it also tends to devalue their professional autonomy; they are therefore reliant on the state but devalued by it. Managers are less ambivalent, they are less reliant on educational skills and less dependent on the state for employment and tend to view the state more negatively, mainly as the organization which taxes them (Savage 1990: 17).

Savage argues that these divisions within the middle-class are growing; in 1979, for example, SEG4 was only 4% less likely to vote Conservative than managers; by 1987 this had grown to 10%. The gap between professional and managerial workers is greater amongst younger than older workers. Gender also has a major impact: younger women managers are 43 percentage points more likely to vote Conservative than younger female professionals, the comparable figure for males is 23 percentage points. Savage advises caution in interpreting these figures given the structuring of the professions on age and gender with a bias of younger women towards public sector occupations.

Nevertheless it appears that the factor of state employment, particularly given its politicisation through the Thatcher years, is of major importance in explaining intra service-class divisions.

The direction of Savage's argument is similar to Crompton's (1990) about different forms of 'moral' regulation amongst the service-class:

"Professionalism and organizational incorporation, therefore, are two rather different ways in which expert labour may be regulated. They are not necessarily in conflict with each other. However, it is not difficult to see that a greater emphasis upon one or the other might have rather different outcomes as far as the development of social consciousness is concerned. 'Successful' organizational incorporation suggests that the expert employee will become completely dependent upon and identified with his or her employing organization. Thus the interests of the employing organization might be seen as superseding those of other potential claimants such as family, clients, community or nation. In contrast, the ethic incorporated in the ideology of 'professionalism', that is, what Merton has described as 'institutionalized altruism', stresses the importance of universalistic standards (of service) as integral to the protection of the client. Thus, it might be expected, the ideology of professionalism may be more likely to result in less emphasis on purely sectional interests than those of the 'clan' " (Crompton 1990: 13)

Crompton also recognizes that there is a spatial context to divisions within the service-class and observes that there has been a long-standing distinction within discussions about the 'middle-classes' between 'cosmopolitans' and 'locals', 'burgesses' and 'spirualists' ie between those who orient themselves to the larger community and those for whom life is centred around the locality. Crompton therefore suggests that there are two axes around which the social consciousness of the service-class might be differentiated.

Figure 3.2: Patterns of social consciousness amongst professional and managerial occupations¹⁰

	Regulation			Mobility	
	None or Market alone	Professional	Clan	Mobile	Immobile
Sharks	+	-	-	+	-
Organizationally incorporated	-	-	+	+	-
Organizational locals	-	-	+	-	+
Universalists	-	+	-	+	-
Old locals	-	+	-	-	+
New Locals	+	-	-	-	+

The 'sharks' are the hypermobile, but not much more information is given about them. The 'organizationally incorporated' will tend to be the traditional senior managers in the corporate sector with a primary loyalty to capital, whereas 'organizational locals' will perhaps experience conflict between their 'organizational' and 'local' loyalties (Urry 1981). 'Universalists' will tend to stress societal and corporatist loyalties given their professional loyalty to the client although this might contradict the short-term interests of capital. 'Old locals' are the traditional middle-class, whereas 'new locals' are Savage's skill-based service-class who are likely to be active in protecting their 'locality resources' (Crompton 1990: 16). Conflicts are likely to arise between this group and both 'organizational locals' and 'old locals' who will on occasions encourage local investment for employment or profit related reasons *'whereas new locals might be in favour of keeping out or closing down such units in order to enhance regional amenities'* (Crompton 1990: 17).

This interaction of modes of regulation and spatial factors is a useful articulation but it does beg the question as to how people acquire these positions initially. Crompton (1990:18) suggests that education performs an important role here and that those who reach the service-class from non service-class backgrounds are less likely to be Conservative supporters. Savage (1990) however shows how the relationship between social origin and social consciousness varies according to whether they are employed in a professional or managerial occupation.

"It may be suggested therefore , that as far as the state system is concerned, the experience of post-school education and employment might be more crucial for the development of the 'world views' of their products than those of the public school system. Thus the state educated who train for and enter occupations characterised by professional norms of 'institutionalized altruism' might be expected to adhere to universalism; indeed, this group probably constitutes a major source of dissent, as far as government policies are concerned, amongst the contemporary service-class" (Crompton 1990: 20)

There is therefore evidence in favour of the 'counterview' which argues in favour of a service-class which is internally divided; it is however unable to point conclusively

to the nature of those divisions or the kind of social consciousness engendered by them. Indeed, Crompton's arguments, and Savage's (1990) data suggest that there are a number of often 'cross-cutting' influences (occupation, spatial loyalty, education, class origin and gender) which combine in complex ways. The weakness in Savage's earlier (1988) work is that it relies on data from one very restricted local labour market; his adoption of Wright's class classification does point to some interesting recent divisions (notably the skill rich technocrats) but does so at the expense of others (notably those working in the professions and neo-professions - 'the creative and welfare professionals'). He draws attention to the implications of new spatial divisions of labour for service-class divisions but does so with respect to only one area. The omission of the central London labour market is critical, as its growth has been at least as important as that of the 'high-tech M4 corridor' - arguably, more so. Savage and Fielding (1989) and Crompton (1990) have pointed to the importance of higher education in the process of service-class formation, in terms of both spatial segregation but also in terms of attitude formation and the development of a sense of 'class interest'.

The approach to the service-class taken by Crompton and Savage is a considerable advance on that discussed in the previous chapter and suggests that nationally the service-class is divided occupationally and spatially and that education, and in particular higher education, plays an important in forming social consciousness amongst new service-class entrants. However, neither of the schemata, which are summarised in Figures 3.1 and 3.2, are integrated with a spatial analysis of the occupational division of labour in modern Britain. This has already been identified as a major weakness in Savage's (1988) study of the service-class in Berkshire. His subsequent work on the 1987 British General Election Survey (Savage 1990) and the Census Longitudinal Study (Fielding and Savage 1989) points to the importance of integrating spatial differences and occupational divisions but fails to achieve this. Crompton recognizes the importance of the two but treats them both as relatively autonomous independent variables (see Figure 3.2). What is required is the specification

of the linkage between spatial and occupational divisions amongst the service-class. Education is likely to play an important role not just in forming social consciousness but also in choice of profession/occupation (Crompton 1990).

In analysing the class formation and class position of the service-class both structural and non-structural factors need to be considered (see Warde 1991). Pahl (1989) has argued that the 'structure-consciousness-action' (SCA) mantra is inappropriate in understanding contemporary social divisions where, particularly in the case of non-subordinate classes, non-structural influences (such as consumption and education) are likely to be important in determining social action (for a debate see articles by Crompton, Marshall and Mullins 1991). Choice is likely to be a factor in understanding both occupational and spatial divisions within the service-class, whilst the experience of higher education is likely to be a sociologically determining factor on patterns of choice (Crompton 1990; Martin 1981).

Inner London as a specific case of service-class segmentation

The argument being proposed here is that there is a spatially specific inner London fraction of the service-class, which lives in gentrified areas such as Hackney. A further sophistication to the argument is that different gentrified areas tend to reflect nuances within the subdivision of the inner London service-class. The argument is derived from the unique position occupied by London in the spatial and occupational division of labour in the UK. London has not only become the 'command and control' centre of the UK economy but also a major 'pole' of the world economy (Massey 1984; Thrift 1988). The rise of the 'international service economy' within the 'new international division of labour' has created growth opportunities for service occupations in London, particularly in 'producer services'. London is also the centre of cultural production as well as state administration; finally its large, and for the most part deprived population, necessitate a considerable welfare provision. All of these create requirements and opportunities for a service-class; some of these opportunities are

unique to London. These are functions which arise either out of London's position as the administrative, cultural and political capital or else as a 'command and control' centre for world capitalism. Other, mainly welfare functions, exist as part of a national provision but are disproportionately centred on London: partly because of the size and level of deprivation of London's population but partly also because London is where the key decisions and initiatives are taken which makes it an important place to be for the ambitious (Rhodes 1989). These are what might be termed the 'supply side' factors attracting the service-class to London; 'demand' factors are also important. This relates to arguments and assumptions about 'cosmopolitans' who want not only to work in London but also to live there.

It is with this group that the research is concerned and it is based around the following hypotheses. It is suggested that there is a distinctive group within the service-class who choose to live in gentrified inner city areas, and who will, for the most part, be employed in service sector occupations either in administrative or professional occupations. Many may have come from suburban childhoods and may regard living in the inner city as a way of distancing themselves from the closeness of living in single class neighbourhoods and the anonymity of city life will be valued, although the presence of other PLUs ('people like us') is important. Friendships with other people are also important but these will often stem from university or be work-related and, whilst such friends are also likely to live in similar inner city locations, they will not necessarily live nearby. If they do not live alone, they are likely to live in dual-earner households which becomes another reason for living in inner London, both because the inner London labour market is a disproportionate provider of service-class jobs to women but also because of the impracticality and undesirability for both partners to commute a long distance into central London employment, especially if there are children. It is also likely that such people will be highly-educated with a bias in their higher education towards the arts, humanities and social sciences, and away from science and technology. Finally, it is likely that they will be more politically liberal than the

service-class as a whole, not merely because of their tendency to work in professional and administrative as opposed to technical and managerial occupations but also because of their backgrounds. They are also likely to work in service industries of the future or in the 'creative and welfare professions'.

It is my contention that living in inner London is likely to be attractive, both from a 'supply' and a 'demand' perspective, to a sub-set of the service-class and that there is a form of elite recruitment to the inner London service-class which distinguishes it from the service-class nationally. This involves spatial and occupational factors but also factors such as family and educational background. This merely takes one step further the arguments advanced by Crompton (1990) about divisions within the service-class as a whole. At this stage much of the argument is speculative but it is supported, within limits, by the data presented in later chapters. Research on gentrification might therefore be expected to provide useful insights into the reasons for service-class migration into the inner city but unfortunately this is an area that has been ignored in gentrification research, which has tended to take the existence of gentrifiers for granted.

Gentrification as residential credentialism

Moore (1982) in a departure from much of the literature, does attempt to link gentrification with the rise of what has been termed in North America the 'New Class'.

"The new class is a cultural bourgeoisie who appropriate privately the advantages of a historically and collectively provided cultural capital" (Gouldner 1979: 19)

The 'New Class' is defined in narrower and more restrictive terms than the service-class as "intellectuals and technical intelligentsia" who share a "critical discourse" through their common experience of years of higher education (Gouldner 1979). Moore defines the culture of critical discourse (CCD) as *"a set of rules for manipulating symbols and ideas; the New Class works with symbols and ideas rather than money or machines or the materials of nature"* (1982:11)¹¹. Whilst there have

always been occupations based around intellectual labour, it is only since the 1960s that these have blossomed into what have been called the 'new professions'. This is largely as a result of the development of state regulatory programmes and the need for people to run them – planners, social workers, psychologists and teachers; other professional groups, including lawyers, economists and even sociologists, have expanded to devise these policies (Moore 1982:11)¹². Crucial to this discussion of the new class is the plethora of new occupations (including those referred to above by Lash and Urry in their account of Bourdieu) and the role of a 'speech community' based around *'the culture of a careful and critical discourse'* which is dependent on a high level of formal education.

Moore's discussion is particularly relevant because of the way in which he identifies this class with the gentrification of the inner core of cities. He argues that

"neighbourhoods are segregated not only by income but also by social power (or 'status') and of course, the social power connotations are an important constituent of the value of a neighbourhood" (1982:12).

He goes on to propose that neighbourhoods play an important role in reinforcing relations at work and that traditionally the 'order-givers' and 'order-takers' live in clearly delineated neighbourhoods as do the middle-class who are both order-takers and givers. According to Moore, the new class, given their professional ethos, are neither order-takers or order-givers, in the conventional sense. They need to take orders but they largely retain the right of control over their means of production (notably skills, knowledge and ideas). They are also able to define their work task in relation to the service they provide, rather than solely in maximising the wage rewards.

"Like the middle and upper classes, [the new class] also seeks to reinforce its workplace identity with a distinct residential identity. Its options though are severely limited. The suburbs where much of the New Class was socialized, are the residential domain of the white-collar middle-class, whose material and bureaucratic values are eschewed by the New Class. This leaves the upper-class neighbourhoods of the city and inner suburbs, and older 'declining elite' or working-class neighbourhoods in the inner city. Of these the New Class prefers the former with their superior physical and social environments, and the wealthy members of the New Class live there. Many members of the New Class are not

wealthy, particularly when they buy their first home, so their choice of neighbourhood is somewhat restricted. Hence gentrification" (Moore 1982: 14)

He develops this concept of 'gentrification as second best' by identifying the two areas open to the new class as the old and declined elite areas and the old working-class areas. The first, he suggests, are not only near to the centre and so convenient for many of the professions comprising the new class but they also have a carried-over veneer of gentility which appeals to the new class. The old working-class areas are generally attractive because they provide cheap housing which can be renovated slowly. Although the new class have generally high incomes, Moore claims that, because of a prolonged higher education, they come to them relatively late in life. They also have relatively little wealth so that being able to improve their property, to the high standards to which they aspire, out of income is an added attraction. Housing costs are not the only attraction of gentrification because they *"see a positive value in associating with the poor"* (1982:16); they positively value the small physical distance between them and the poor since this advertises an identification with the deprived and thus fits with many of their 1960s' ideologies. Moore claims their secure social status may in part be enhanced by the contrast with their neighbours, in other words close *physical* proximity may advertise the *social* distance from other residents.

"Whether purposefully or not... gentrification serves to advertise the class identity of the New Class" (1982:17).

On the other hand, gentrification sets the 'new class' apart from the middle-class suburbs. Marcuse (1989) also claims that gentrification meets these wider needs of sections of the service-class, although he fails to explain *why* this might be.

"Too many of these new workers are no longer pulled by the lure of entrepreneurship, power and riches nor are pushed by the fear of penury and hardship. The stratum in question involves neither the idle rich nor the decisive powerful, but the well paid administrative, managerial, technical, cultural, professional workers, often with inherited as well as current income. Gentrification can be seen as one way of dealing with this problem of motivation, acquiescence, satisfaction" (Marcuse 1989: 215)

Moore's argument is that gentrification serves not only to set the new class apart from other classes by its residential location but also to sustain what he sees as its 'alienation'. He derives this argument from Gouldner (1979) who identifies five sources of 'new class alienation'. The first lies in the new class's intellectual origins which set it aside from other more materialistically based classes and cultures; secondly, it is blocked in terms of its upward mobility by the classes above it which result in it struggling to achieve control of the state apparatus; thirdly, it is alienated because it is not wealthy enough to sustain its great 'cultural appetite' and self-regard; fourthly because it is concerned for the 'social totality' but, lacking the power to effect the changes it might desire, it is left to intellectualize them; fifth, its technical interests are blocked by bureaucratic superiors (Gouldner 1979: 58). Moore argues that working on their homes and neighbourhoods and providing the leadership for struggles to protect its heritage against change are a way of developing the protective organizations necessary to fight alienation.

Marcuse (1989a) reinforces this view that gentrification is a manner of overcoming the source of alienation expressed by the new class

"The argument in a nutshell is that gentrified living (living like the gentry, a major component of which is living in gentrified neighbourhoods) provides, for those engaged in work demanding creative but inherently unproductive and unrewarding labour a set of satisfactions not available from their work but necessary for their motivation" (Marcuse 1989a: 214).

Moore attempts to show how this might be by quoting from Michael Frayn's *Towards the End of the Morning* where the stereotypical gentrifier buys a run-down late nineteenth century residence

"to secure an attractive and potentially fashionable house in the heart of London at a price they could afford; be given credit by their friends for going to live among the working-classes; acquire very shortly congenial middle-class neighbours of a similarly adventurous and intellectual outlook to themselves, and see their investment undergo a satisfactory and reassuring rise in the process" (quoted by Moore 1982:22).

The next chapter discusses more fully the question of gentrification but the strength of Moore's contribution is his attempt to link the question of residential gentrification with the process of class formation and differentiation. This allows for a theorization of the distinctions between the non-urban middle-class and the new class. It also provides an account of relations between the new class and those classes above and below it. In his account residence reinforces occupational, intellectual and ideological distinctions within the middle-class. Whether the concept of the new class is easily imported into the British class structure is less clear, given that the service-class has a more recent history than in North America (Lash and Urry 1987). Nevertheless there are many resonances here between his account and those people living in Hackney who are the subjects of this research.

"The New Class does not have a simple residential geography. The residential location of individual members of the New Class, however, does tell us something not only about their wealth and income, but also about their ideology and their concept of their own place in society. Gentrification may have its proximate causes in the location of professional employment, cheap housing, investment opportunities and lifestyle preferences, but underlying these is the rise of the New Class"(Moore 1982:24).

The definition of the new class is narrower than that of the service-class but it encompasses those working in professional employment and/or embracing what Lash and Urry and Bourdieu see as 'cultural capital'. Moore's argument links convincingly both the structural and cultural reasons for why many of these people choose to live in the inner city. Their desire to maintain social and spatial distance from the suburban middle-class often forces them into gentrification as 'second best'. At the same time, their spatial closeness to the working-class reinforces their sense of social distance (since in comparison to them they do seem to be the 'gentry'); but it also increases their potential to act as leaders for that class and so overcome the sense of political and social alienation, which their 'neither/nor' status tends to confer on them. This is also important in understanding the importance to many of them in doing up an old house on a limited budget out of current income. It meets both a spiritual and material need which cannot be satisfied by moving into purpose-built suburban housing.

Conclusion

This thesis is, however, not a study of gentrification. This is not to argue that gentrification does not help us understand the new urban middle-class and differentiation within the service-class because clearly it does. To concentrate solely on gentrification however, would be to focus on the urban process to the exclusion of what has been happening to the service-class. Explanations for the new urban middle-class are both structural and normative.

They are structural in that the rise of the 'new class' has broadly coincided with the development of what has been termed the 'new international division of labour', the emergence of an 'international service economy' and an increasing importance of cities oriented towards high status service employment. Consumption, and especially the consumption of housing, is a major factor in the constitution of the 'post industrial' city and the new urban middle-class (Pahl 1989).

Explanations are normative in that they recognize that one of the consequences of the 'restructurings' that have taken place in contemporary economies has been a shift towards more individualized and 'flexible' forms of labour, particularly in respect of the service-class. Its skills have been crucial not only technically and occupationally but also in the role it has played in the 'disorganization' of monopoly capitalism (Lash and Urry 1987). It follows that this disorganization has worked itself through into the class formation of the service-class which has organized the disorganization of capitalism. It is a less cohesive class than other classes and it also has more freedom in its cultural practices. Warde (1991) identifies nine sources of this freedom, with the consequence that

"The middle-classes are in a position to adopt more flexible consumption styles and practices than their forebears or other social classes. The fragmentation and fluidity of the middle-classes is a structural base for a great variety of consumption practices" (Warde 1991: 228)

Inner city living and reclaiming decayed urban housing are, as we have seen, one important way of expressing a sense of 'class identification' (Moore 1982).

In the case of London and the South East it has resulted in a massive expansion of the service-class, significant numbers of whom have chosen to live in London. It is not just the increase in the supply of service-class numbers that accounts for inner city gentrification but there has also been a qualitative change in norms and values which has accompanied this quantitative change. Increasingly service-class members choose to live in the inner city for reasons which I have already argued can, in part at least, be traced back to their experience of higher education and a wish to distance themselves from the suburban environment of other members of the middle-class. The cultural and stylistic components of gentrification are meaningful and satisfying to the new urban middle-class in a way that suburban living is not. The main weakness of the gentrification literature is that, for the most part, it takes the presence of gentrifiers in the inner city for granted and is not concerned with why they are there.

It is central to the argument being proposed in this thesis that different kinds of people live in different geographical spaces¹³. Whilst this insight is important as a critique of the changes that were happening to the working-class in the 1960s it is even more so with the growth of the service-class. The concept of 'difference' is important in understanding the service-class in the 1990s and lifestyle and consumption differences complement more traditionally accepted structural divisions, such as sector and occupation. Values, particularly those acquired during higher education, come to take on an importance often ignored by social scientists. Fragmentation amongst the service-class reflects not merely a functional requirement of the needs of capital for different kinds of service-class occupations but also a degree of choice and commitment by those people themselves both to occupation and lifestyle. Lifestyle and occupation are of course often linked but not, I would suggest, in a mechanistic manner. Those with left and liberal leanings who might, even a decade ago for example, have eschewed working for the private sector and commuting to work from the suburbs could well now be found

at City desks but cycling to them from a refurbished inner city terraced house. In other words, living in the inner city rather than commuting from the suburbs could be as important as occupational or sectoral differences in understanding sources of fragmentation within the service-class. Where people live and the kinds of houses they live in are important indicators of their lifestyles and values and are sources for fragmentation amongst the service-class, not only between the suburban and inner city areas but also between different locations in the inner city (McDonald 1984). (3)

In spite of the fundamental differences between those debating gentrification, there is a tendency to take the existence of a service-class for granted. Recently though, some writers have become aware of the need to specify the differences amongst the service-class in discussing the way in which gentrifiers are 'produced'. Smith and Williams (1986) point out that underlying the visible 'detritus of gentrification' (waterfront redevelopment, trendy restaurants etc.) in urban landscapes, there are

“Specific economic, social and political forces that are responsible for a major reshaping of advanced capitalist societies: there is a restructured industrial base, a shift to service employment and a consequent transformation of the working-class, and indeed of the class structure in general: and there are shifts in state intervention and political ideology aimed at the privatization of consumption and service provision. Gentrification is a visible spatial component of this social transformation. A highly dynamic process, it is not amenable to overly restrictive definition; rather than risk constraining our understanding of this developing process by imposing definitional order, we should strive to consider the broad range of processes that contribute to this restructuring, and to understand the links between seemingly separate processes”. (Smith and Williams 1986: 3).

What they omit however is any reference to how this new class divides; some choose to live in 'new times' places, such as Basingstoke, Silicon Valley or Docklands whilst others choose the inner suburbs of London and New York (Hackney or Brooklyn for example). Why this might be so, is the subject of the next chapter which will provide a theoretical contextualization for the empirical work on Hackney.

¹The question of downward social mobility is an interesting one both theoretically (see Glass 1954) but also in terms of the study of 'alternative lifestyles' in inner city areas such as Stoke Newington, which is discussed below.

²Savage himself makes much the same point in his chapter in Hamnett, MacDowell and Sarre eds (1989) in criticising theories of polarization and homogenization.

³There does though seem a contradiction between the claim in Savage et al (1988) that occupationally mobile senior managers are unwilling to leave the South East - for housing reasons and because of the need to find two jobs - and the conclusion drawn from Savage and Fielding (1989) that, whilst the South East is an important escalator into the service-class, there is also an exit phenomenon out of the region by established service class members. This may be resolvable within their theoretical framework by identifying the outmovers as those either setting up their own business (including no doubt professional partnerships) or those in the public sector with a national pay scale wishing to cash in housing gains and improve the quality of their life elsewhere.

⁴See note 2 above.

⁵One of Wright's starting points is the need for Marxists to come to terms with the problem of the middle-class. Wright sees his framework as emphasising the key concept of 'exploitation' and economic determination, although Weberians are able to point to the centrality of 'domination' in his account. He achieves this by allowing the concept of 'oppression' a role in the process of economic exploitation.

⁶This period was dominated by the Fordist stage of capitalism and hence the predominance of large organizational forms should not be a surprise.

⁷This argument is similar to that used in the 'deskilling' thesis, where it was pointed out that under capitalism, skill belonged to capital not labour (Braverman 1974).

⁸It has been explicit state policy to encourage this by a variety of means, such as compulsory tendering, the privatization of executive agencies, the incorporation of public sector higher education and so on.

⁹Savage tends to alternate between the term 'service-class' and 'middle-class' without explaining the difference.

¹⁰Source: Crompton (1990: 16)

¹¹This is probably out of date, as increasingly the 'new class' work in money markets.

¹²There are similarities here to Savage (1990) and Crompton (1990) and the distinction they draw between managers and professionals in their discussion of fragmentation in the service-class; the conceptualization of intellectual labour also owes a debt to Bourdieu and his concept of 'cultural capital'.

¹³Clarke (1984) makes this point well by showing how much of the embourgeoisement debate was about spatial restructuring of the working class and that although many of the classics of sociology in the 1960s were about places such as Luton and Bethnal Green and are remembered as such by succeeding generations of sociology students, there was almost no analysis of the role played by spatial factors.

CHAPTER FOUR:

GENTRIFICATION AND THE INNER LONDON SERVICE CLASS

Gentrification and the service-class

"The gentrified city serves the professionals, managers, technicians, yuppies, in their twenties and college professors in their sixties: those who may be doing well themselves, yet work for and are ultimately at the mercy of others. The frustrated pseudo-creativity of their actions leads to a quest for other satisfactions, found in consumption, in specific forms of culture and in 'urbanity', devoid of their historical content and more related to consumption than to intellectual productivity or political freedom... Locations close to work are important, both because of long hours and because of the density of contacts they permit"
(Marcuse 1989b: 704)

The literature on gentrification can be helpful in understanding the process whereby some sections of the service-class are moving into the inner-city whereas others are not. Gentrification is a schizophrenic concept which deals not only with the production of urban space but also the production of gentrifiers. Gentrification therefore concerns the production and consumption of space by a group whose existence has arisen out of the restructuring of capitalist relations in the new international division of labour and resulted in the increased importance of the international service economy. The creation and survival though of the international service economy is itself dependent on the existence of the service-class.

Gentrification remains a theoretically imprecise concept, although there is some evidence that this is beginning to change (Rose 1984; Smith 1987a; Warde 1991). *Gentrification of the City* (Smith and Williams 1986) draws together work being carried out in North America, Europe and Australasia: it not only brings together social and economic factors but also suggests that style and aesthetics are important in understanding gentrification. Zukin (1988) supports this view; the subtitle of her book *Loft Living*, 'culture and capital in urban change', indicates the manner in which culture and capital have combined into what she terms an 'Artistic Mode of Production' which has facilitated the conversion of the SoHo district of Manhattan from light

industrial to residential use over the heads of the existing users. As she says in the postscript to the English edition:

"The common fate of SoHo, Hackney, Docklands and other variants of spatial differentiation within the modern city points up to two elements in this struggle. On the one hand, cultural appropriation supports spatial claims put forward by both the expansionist segments of the middle-class - gentrifiers, tourists, property developers and financiers - and the indigenous populations, who because of social segregation in the inner cities tend to share working-class or minority ethnic cultures. On the other hand, the dominant, market-driven cultural appropriation that uproots the poor(er) and legitimizes their replacement by players in culture and financial markets uses cultural producers in a dramatically new way" (Zukin 1988: 204)

The term gentrification was coined by Ruth Glass in the early 1960s in what has become a classic definition to describe the changes that were occurring in inner London at the time

"One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle-classes - upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages...have been taken over when their leases expired and have become elegant expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period - which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation - have been upgraded again. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the districts is changed" (Glass 1963: xviii)

By the 1970s, Glass was suggesting that, as a result of rapid renewal, large parts of inner London were becoming *'almost exclusively reserved for selected higher class strata'* (Hamnett and Williams 1980: 51).

Most accounts of gentrification refer to the characteristics of the incomers, the outmovers and the physical consequences of gentrification¹; most of the research has concentrated on the incomers and the physical consequences for the neighbourhood. Zukin though emphasizes the point that gentrifiers were different from 'other' middle-class people and that therefore gentrification was trying to deal with something more wide-ranging and complex than housing differences within the middle-class.

"From the moment the English sociologist invented the term 'gentrification' to describe the residential movement of middle-class people into low-income areas of

London, the word evoked more than a simple change of scene. It suggested a new attachment to old buildings and a heightened sensibility to space and time. It also indicated a radical break with the suburbs, a movement away from child-centred households toward the social diversity and aesthetic promiscuity of city life. In the public view, at least, gentrifiers were different from other middle-class people thus gentrification may be described as a process of spatial and social differentiation" (Zukin 1987: 131)

In the conventional view gentrifiers are middle and upper-middle-class single people or young couples, who are normally childless; they are not suburbanites returning to the city but rather city dwellers remaining within the city (Williams 1986; Hamnett 1984; Munt 1987; Legates and Hartman 1986; McDonald 1983).

It has been claimed that one of the most robust and reliable indicators that a gentrification process is underway is an increase in the proportion of the population with degrees in a given area (Marcuse 1986: 166). Williams (1976: 71) claims, albeit with little supporting evidence, that higher education plays a pivotal role for many of those who become gentrifiers and that gentrifiers tend to be highly-credentialed children of middle-class suburbanites.

"Having, in many cases, been brought up in 'classless' suburbs (one class in reality) and gone to higher-education establishments where class was outwardly less relevant (though actually implicated in the very core of those establishments), the move to establish residence in working-class inner areas was an important act. It appeared to mark a break with the class-segregated past and it was presumed to offer the warm supportive communal existence denied in the suburbs, discovered at university or college, and potentially to be lost again. Yet having established such a residence, these groups, by the very sets of structures within which they were already located, have actually found themselves alienated from this communal classlessness" (Williams 1986: 71)

Gentrification is often defined by its physical manifestations eg 'Brownstoning' (New York) or 'Whitepainting' (Toronto) (Hamnett 1984a: 285-6; Moore 1982). The physical attributes may have changed but the broad ecological approach to gentrification remains in much of the literature - the process is described by its physical manifestations.

"The first sign is a crisp white painted house front. Outside, one of those continental biscuit-tin cars, a Renault 4 or a Citroen 2CV is parked. Inside, through the window - it has blinds not curtains - one spots a Japanese paper lampshade, a smart little bookcase of the kind you get on mail order from the Observer, stacked with glossy volumes of reproductions, a stripped pine table, a

long sealed and sanded floor with dead sheep for carpets. The middle interior wall has gone, and one can see through in to the back garden with its breakfast patio. The knockers-through are here"(Raban 1974: 77).

There is a common-sense understanding of what we mean by gentrification, which is more or less supported by academic research data but how do we explain why it takes place?

An important starting point for the debate over gentrification arises from political positions taken over its social consequences: the displacement of existing residents and land-users (Zukin 1988; Kasinitz 1988; Marcuse 1986; Smith, Duncan and Reid 1988). Much of the data comes from New York but evidence from other cities points in the same direction (Glass 1963; Gale 1978; Hamnett and Williams 1980; Legates and Hartman 1986; Cybriwsky 1986). Smith, Duncan and Reid (1988) suggest that displacement and, in extreme cases abandonment, can indicate when a process of gentrification is beginning. Empirically, less is known about those who are displaced, partly for the simple methodological reason that it is harder to discover those who have dispersed socially and spatially than those who have come together (Legates and Hartman: 1986). It is also perhaps not surprising that less is known about the victims as some of the authors referred to are committed to an analysis which stresses the processes of devalorization and revalorization of urban land, and leaves little room for individual actors and their perceptions. Recent research though agrees that gentrification and displacement are two sides of the same phenomenon and points to the relationship between gentrification and restructuring:

"Abandonment and gentrification are both reflections of a single long-term process, resulting from the changing economy of the central city. This process has two aspects: the shift from manufacturing to services, from reliance on mid-level skills to automation and de-skilling, on the one hand, which renders redundant large parts of the workforce and reduces lower-income rent-paying ability; and the increasing professionalization and concentration of management and technical functions, on the other, which creates additional higher income demand for housing. These processes have spatial consequences: blue-collar workers (and potential blue-collar workers) are no longer needed in such numbers downtown; professional and technical workers are in ever increasing demand there" (Marcuse 1986; 154-5).

Whatever the intention of the incomers, who often (initially at least) express liberal sentiments in favour of mixed neighbourhoods, the logic of their involvement in the housing market has been to replace existing low-income renters.

“Gentrification has frequently been found to produce racial and class conflict. There is no evidence that it will necessarily lead to integration” (Legates and Hartman 1986: 196)

Gentrification has therefore developed as a concept implying the oppression of one class by another, albeit in the sphere of consumption rather than production. As Smith and Williams note, it is amazing how quickly both concept and definition have become institutionalized.

“In a society and in a period when class analysis is held to be an historical or geographical anomaly - a holdover from the 19th century or quaintly Old World - (these) dictionary definitions embrace a class analysis of gentrification without the least hint of squeamishness. The temptation to dilute the phraseology must have been considerable, but perhaps the most remarkable thing of all is that with the process itself developing rapidly, the highly innovative definitions may already be outdated” (Smith and Williams 1986: 1).

Gentrification as a concept has largely been derived from empirical sightings and a political debate over its consequences and, until the 1980s, there was little discussion of the theoretical cogency of the concept². Rose (1984), Hamnett (1984a, 1991), Smith and Williams (1986), Zukin (1987) and Warde (1991) all point to the unsatisfactory theoretical nature of the concept and its treatment in much of the literature.

The dialectics of gentrification: people and capital in the revaluation of the inner-city.

Early writers saw gentrification as a ‘back to the city’ movement by the middle-class for whom the trade-off between time and money spent commuting was finely balanced against the space and ‘quality of life’ afforded by the suburbs (see Hamnett 1984a for a summary). The rise in commuting costs is often held to be a key factor and this was spelt out explicitly in the case of London by the Milner Holland report. The main problem with this approach, as subsequent research has shown, is that gentrification is not a return-to-the-city movement but rather a positive decision by those

already living in the inner-city not to move to the suburbs (McDonald 1984; Hamnett 1984a; Moore 1982). Two dominant theoretical explanations have subsequently developed, one based around the emergence of a new service-class and the post-industrial 'livable city' and a second based around the return of capital from the suburbs to the devalorized urban land market (see Ley 1980 and Smith 1979a as exemplars of these two positions). A third perspective, which integrates elements of both of these explanations has also been developed (Hamnett 1991; Rose 1984; Munt 1987; Beauregard 1986). The two dominant perspectives have become identified with the ideas of their most powerful proponents, David Ley and Neil Smith.

Ley (1980) saw in Vancouver on Canada's West Coast a paradigm case for the development of the post industrial city where the 'landscape' has been largely determined by consumption (Mills 1988). Stated baldly, Ley's argument about gentrification takes as its starting point the 'production' of gentrifiers by the new service economy and their cultural and consumption requirements. He is interested in the emergence of what he sees as the post-industrial city ('the livable city'), which is closely associated with the decline in manufacturing employment and the rise of tertiary and quaternary sector employment which, in turn, creates a demand for the new service-class in the inner-city. The development of what might be termed a post modern culture of consumption and a city government prepared to back 'quality of life' as well as economic issues created the breeding ground for gentrification. Ley's approach explains the demand for gentrification mainly by focusing on the supply of gentrifiers but is unable to identify which areas are likely to provide gentrified housing. Although his primary focus may be in terms of consumption and lifestyle, he does not deny the primacy of production processes but argues that these produce a class of people who express their needs in relation to consumption and cultural issues.

“While Ley argues that this class [the service-class] plays a role in politics and culture, he also identifies it as a product of the changes in the division of labour and the spatially uneven nature of these changes. He thus links together changes in the organization of production and the economy, politics and culture into an approach to gentrification and urban change based on the production of gentrifiers and their cultural characteristics and requirements” (Hamnett 1991: 177)

Taken as a whole these factors cannot be called a theory, rather they constitute a taxonomy of factors mainly centred around the supply of potential gentrifiers. Nevertheless, it is a powerful explanation for why gentrification occurs in some cities and not in others and one that is firmly rooted in the consumption consequences of changes in the organization of production. It may not account for the nature and causes of those changes but then gentrification is a 'middle-range' concept and his explanation is pitched at that level.

In contrast, Smith (1979a) argues that gentrification is predominantly a phenomenon deriving from the supply of housing opportunities arising out of the operation of the urban land market. He strongly rejects the notion that gentrification is an outcome of consumer preferences and concentrates on the manner in which gentrified property is produced. The resulting 'rent-gap thesis' is, as Hamnett (1984a) suggests, by far the most sophisticated attempt to provide a theoretical explanation for gentrification (Smith 1979a; Smith 1979b; Smith 1982). Whilst it acknowledges that there is a symbiotic relationship between production and consumption processes, it is one in which production predominates (1979a: 540). It suffers however, from its unwillingness (in its initial formulation at least) to accept that human agency (such as the demand factors referred to above) have any theoretical purchase. The sub-title of the original article (Smith 1979a) aptly summarises the thesis: *'A back to the city movement by capital not people'*. Essentially, Smith is concerned to explain why housing becomes available for gentrification. He does this by contrasting the relationship between land values and property values within the accumulation cycle. Smith identifies an emerging difference between potential ground rent and actual ground rent as some city centre rents become devalued in relation to more recent suburban developments: hence the 'rent gap'. When this gap is sufficiently large then the conditions are right for capital to move in and revalorize the land and this is when gentrification occurs.

"Gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets. Capital flows where the rate of return is highest, and the movement of capital to the suburbs along with the continual depreciation of inner-city capital, eventually produces the rent gap. When this gap grows sufficiently large, rehabilitation (or

for that matter, renewal) can begin to challenge the rates of return available elsewhere, and capital flows back" (Smith 1979a: 546)

The problem with his analysis is that the absolute size of the rent gap of itself is no more likely to explain instances of gentrification than the rate of exploitation can predict outbreaks of revolutionary activity. Some reference is needed to human agency - such as the role of actors in the urban land market. In his original (1979a) formulation, Smith was not interested in these factors. As Hamnett points out (after Sayer 1982) every situation consists of internal and external, necessary and contingent relations

"The way that the 'necessary' relationship between devaluation and revaluation will manifest itself is dependent upon the existence of a variety of contingent factors." (Hamnett 1984a: 310)

These contingent factors include, crucially in Hamnett's view, human agency, whereas Smith is reluctant to grant causal powers to the human actors in the situation and resorts to what Hamnett terms a 'capital logic' position. Where Smith does recognize the role of human actors, he does so only through reference to the effects of economic and cultural factors. These are 'lumped together' into a category of 'consumer preference' which, whilst they may account for variations in individual behaviour, can have no significant effect on the causal explanation which is located at the level of the system (Hamnett 1991; Smith 1989a). Gentrification in the 1960s and 1970s has been shown to have been largely restricted to several large cities but there is little in Smith's original formulation of the rent gap thesis that can help us account for this.

"The real problem for Smith is that his analysis of gentrification focuses almost exclusively on the structure and operation of the urban land market under capitalism to the exclusion of other aspects of the capitalist mode of production, notably the changing form and relations of production and the changing social division of labour. Not surprisingly his analysis is consequently of only limited explanatory value." (Hamnett 1984a: 312)

Hamnett (1984a) suggests, and Smith (1987) later accepts, that if his supply side approach were integrated with the 'demand' school which is concerned with why people are seeking out gentrified housing then a genuine theory of gentrification is possible. This would involve looking not only at the supply of land for gentrification (rent gap) but also at the supply of gentrifiers.

"The attempt to integrate consumption-side and production-side arguments - not in some mechanical resort to the notion that one 'crosscuts' the other, but rather in the notion that production and consumption are mutually implicated - should at least be at the top of our agenda." (Smith 1987a: 163)

Nevertheless whilst there is a growing consensus for an integrated approach (Rose 1984; Hamnett 1984a; Smith and Williams 1986; Smith 1987a; Munt 1987), most authors persist in prioritizing either the economic base or the demand for gentrification. Warde (1991: 224), writing from a more overtly sociological viewpoint than most, argues that gentrification is a number of different processes which often occur simultaneously but they can be reduced to two major forms: those that are undertaken by large capital (for which Smith's 'rent gap' thesis provides an explanation) and those undertaken by individuals. In addition, the arrival of a second wave of gentrifiers and rural gentrification should also be considered as aspects of gentrification.

"A definition of the criteria for identifying gentrification which encompasses all four types can be constructed and might be the following:

- 1. It is a process of resettlement and social concentration, a process of displacement of one group of residents with another of higher social status, entailing new patterns of social segregation.*
- 2. It is a transformation of the built environment, via building work, that exhibits some common distinctive, aesthetic features and the emergence of certain types of local service provision.*
- 3. It is a gathering together of persons with a putatively shared culture and life-style, or at least shared, class-related, consumer preferences.*
- 4. It is an economic reordering of property values, a commercial opportunity for the construction industry, and , generally an extension of the system of the private ownership of domestic property.*

It should be noted that these processes may occur independently of each other, but for the sake of conceptual clarity the term gentrification is best reserved for situations where all coincide." (Warde 1991: 225)

Zukin, whose study of loft-living in Manhattan is discussed below, takes a similar view to Warde about some of the directions in which gentrification research might move:

"Gentrification, the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle-class residential use, reflects a movement, that began in the 1960s, of private-market investment capital into downtown districts of major urban centers. Related to a shift in corporate investment and a corresponding expansion of the urban service economy, gentrification was seen more immediately in architectural restoration of deteriorating housing and the clustering of new cultural amenities in the urban core...Having verified the extent of the phenomenon, empirical research on gentrification has reached a stalemate.

Theoretically interesting problems concern the use of historic preservation to constitute a new urban middle-class, gentrification and displacement, the economic rationality of the gentrifier's behavior, and the economic restructuring of the central city in which gentrification plays a part." (Zukin 1987: 129)

She suggests that what started in the machinations of the land market has now spread to the market in cultural artefacts. There is now an emerging synthesis that integrates 'economic and cultural analysis'

"The mutual validation and valorization of urban art and real estate markets indicated the importance of the cultural constitution of the higher social strata in an advanced service economy. It also underlines how space and time are used in the social and material constitution of an urban middle-class" (Zukin 1987: 130).

Thus gentrifiers are those who are both rich enough and cultured enough to 'appreciate' the inner-city and receive sustenance from it. Whilst the detail of her approach may be somewhat over-determined by her own work in Manhattan with its proximity to the culture and art markets of New York, the broad direction generally accords with that of Smith and Williams (1986) who suggest that

"We can expect a Manhattanization of the international city. By this we mean not simply an architectural Manhattanization with the clustering of skyscrapers in the center; that is already largely accomplished. Rather we can expect a social Manhattanization whereby the agglomeration of corporate and corporate-related activities at the center leads to a further agglomeration of upper-income residential neighbourhoods and of lavish recreation and entertainment facilities." (Smith and Williams 1986: 212)

They see different forms of gentrification depending on the role of the city in the 'new international division of labour'; social Manhattanization will be restricted to 'world cities' such as London and New York with a more restricted pattern occurring in such regional centres as Dublin, Frankfurt, Paris, Baltimore, Vancouver and Sydney. The important point is that gentrification is identified as contingent on the restructuring of social and economic relations in the world capitalist order. An important aspect of that restructuring is the emergence of a new service-class tied to the major new international centres of financial services and information-related industries; some of this class choose to live in the inner-city and some in the suburbs.

The agenda for gentrification research has therefore, as Zukin suggests, moved on from establishing its existence to explaining how it manifests wider social, economic and cultural changes, notably the emergence of a new urban middle-class.

Culture, Consumption and Style

Whilst gentrification is underpinned by changes in production both in terms of the revalorization of urban land and by the rise of the international service economy, it manifests itself through the consumption and expropriation of space and time. This theme is explored by a number of writers (Smith 1987a; Jager 1986; Williams 1986; Munt 1987; Kasinitz 1988; Hamnett and Williams 1980; Zukin 1987). As Williams (1986) points out, it is easy to forget how recent this phenomenon is:

“The imagery of gentrification, whether in Australia, Britain or the United States, is so powerful today that it is easy to forget how recently this process has become part of the landscape of the city. The terminology of opportunity - ‘ripe for renovation’, ‘bursting with promise’, ‘original features’, and ‘period charm’ - has awakened many to the rich harvest to be gathered in the inner-city. Twenty five years earlier, the language and the locale were entirely different, talk was of modernity, latest design and simple efficiency, and our attention was on suburbia as the finest expression of urban living, with fresh air and open space, country views and easy access.” (Williams 1986: 56)

Gentrification has become encapsulated in the restoration of the architecture of a previous period (almost exclusively Victorian or Edwardian). This can be seen as a compensatory strategy by the middle-classes for their contradictory position within the social structure (Jager 1986). The apparent solidity of such houses recalls a previous era which is associated with social stability. Architecture then is a statement about social status and the ability to do something with the material of history - particularly that occupied previously by a subordinate group. Raban describes gentrifiers as people who have chosen their environment as a *‘social and architectural complement to their own identity’* (quoted in Hamnett and Williams 1980: 63). History becomes therefore a commodity in the eternal search to find expression for individualism and distinction in a society based around mass production and consumption.

Consumption outside and inside the home is part of the signifier of gentrification (Moore 1982: 20). It is not just consumption, or indeed being seen to consume, which is significant, it is the manner in which that consumption takes place. Consumption and style become inextricably linked in a manner that is meant to indicate individual taste but inevitably become a part of mass consumption. Munt (1987: 1193) suggests that the 'conspicuous consumption of time' through buying old property acts as a 'means of self expression for the gentrifier' but the problem is that it does so for everyone else in the street and one knows exactly what to expect from every house without ever going into it. Laura Ashley, the Next Catalogue and so on are all concerned to provide 'the discerning consumer' with exactly what s/he wants with the minimum of fuss. This is what Jager calls 'gentrification kitsch' (Jager 1986: 87) in which cultural difference itself becomes mass-produced.

Smith describes the architecture of new build construction in gentrifying areas in these terms:

"Here the architectural form provides no existing historical meaning that can be reworked into cultural display and the appeal to a new gentrification kitsch is therefore extreme. Where such modern infill occurs in gentrifying neighbourhoods, whether in Baltimore's Otterbein, in scattered sites throughout Washington's Capitol Hill, or in Central London Barratt estates, one has the impression of having come full circle, in geographical and cultural as well as architectural terms. The infill gentrification is accomplishing a visual suburbanization of the city." (Smith 1987a: 168)

In other words, he is suggesting that gentrification is more than just buying houses in the inner-city, their oldness and historicity is a crucial part of gentrified living³. The inner London service-class, dismissed contemptuously by Mrs Thatcher as the 'chattering classes', would no more live in a Barratt-built house, such as she and Dennis bought themselves in Dulwich⁴, than they would a suburban semi, a mock tudor detached residence in Godalming or go on holiday to Marbella. Both groups however are representative of a new middle-class attempting to establish cultural hegemony through the appropriation of history. It is the manner in which that is achieved which divides them; gentrification requires time and effort to be spent on reworking the buildings of another era to achieve a sense of how they 'ought' to look both in terms of form

(historical authenticity) and function (modern appliances). The Barratt's approach requires the expenditure of money to purchase a style which can be achieved through the application of modern technology both to form and function. The contrast is between the means used to achieve the end and indeed the ends themselves. Aesthetics are therefore an indicator of the process of class formation.

Jager concentrates on the social significance of aesthetics and architecture in his analysis of gentrification in Melbourne. He argues that gentrification refers to the attempts by a new urban middle-class to establish itself a social entity. He calls it the 'neither/nor' class (Jager 1986: 80) which has to look continually to the classes above and below it in order to reassure itself of its continued existence. He draws parallels to a previous era by suggesting that the occupation of gentrified housing compares with that of owning servants in Veblen's analysis of the leisure class.

"For Veblen's leisure class, servants had a dual function; they had to work and perform, and they also had to signify their master's standing. Gentrified housing follows a similar social logic. On the one hand, housing has to confer social status, meaning and prestige, but on the other it has to obey the social ethic of production: it has to function economically." (Jager 1986: 79)

In Veblen's analysis, social distinction depended on leisure and consumption; in contemporary Australia these are, on the whole, possessed by all social groups and so they are not of themselves sufficient distinguishing criteria for a social group attempting to establish itself. The built environment is crucial to the processes of class constitution and definition *"as both a container and expression of social relations"* (Jager 1986: 79). He suggests that the new urban middle-class has managed to achieve this by appropriating aesthetics and architectural style. They have been able to convert what was previously a Melbourne slum ripe for the developers' bulldozer into an area of 'Victoriana':

"In the external restorations of Victoriana, the middle-classes express their candidature for the dominant classes; in its internal renovation work this class signifies its distance from the lower orders." (Jager 1986: 80)

Jager demonstrates the manner in which the history of the external façade is 'sensitively' matched to the interior renovations. This is so particularly in the kitchen where the emphasis is on "combining period charm with modern amenities" (Jager 1986: 85). As Moore (1982) points out, this is a crucial element of the new class's attempt to establish itself: internal 'mod cons' and high tech conveniences not only reflect respect for modern design and labour saving technology but they also compensate for the loss of female domestic labour in two-earner households (Moore 1982; Huws 1985).

Originally, gentrifiers may have been forced to expend their own time and recycle the original materials because of the economic marginality of the investment until the area was accepted as having become gentrified (McDonald; Moore 1982; Smith, Duncan and Reid 1988). This though had the effect of encouraging an aesthetic to emerge which stressed the importance of the expenditure of time on the materials of a previous age. In this way power over history was demonstrated

"Inner worldly asceticism becomes public display; bare brick walls and exposed timbers come to signify cultural discernment, not the poverty of slums without plaster. Remnants of a past English colonial presence survive through the importance attributed to handmade bricks, preferably with convict thumbprints."
(Jager 1986: 85)

Jager claims that the 'ambiguity and compromise' of the new middle-classes is reflected in the architecture of their homes. 'Victoriana' provides the basis for integrating a historical past with a new urban lifestyle and culture. The new urban middle-class promote new tastes which centre around aesthetic-cultural themes which are not only distinct from the working-class but also from the traditional middle-class values. These give rise to new industries and shops for reprocessing the past (hence Jager's phrase 'gentrification kitsch'). The objects themselves are not important but the ways they are brought together can be labelled as being 'architecturally excellent and historically significant'. It is therefore the style of consumption that is important: the rehabilitation of the housing marks the arrival of a new urban middle-class which is distinguishable by its possession of cultural capital - 'taste'. Their social aspirations, which are necessarily

at odds with other classes, account for the heat that can be generated by relative trivialities of style⁵.

"Victoriana is so demonstrative (because) it provides a means of expressing social identity, of representing values, of affirming arrival, of symbolising possession and of demonstrating presence." (Jager 1986: 90)

The role of culture, but this time in a more organized form, was crucial in enabling financial capital to rehabilitate the SoHo area of Manhattan, a zoned industrial area, into an upper income residential district (Zukin 1988). The large warehouses which dominated the area were initially sought out by artists who needed to live and work in the area in large and well-lit working spaces. This resulted in the development of 'loft living' whereby the large warehouse floors were converted into studio apartments. Initially these functional working and living-space conversions were restricted to working artists but inevitably the arrangement became synonymous with a desirable lifestyle and the basis for commercial rehabilitation aimed directly at young and affluent members of Manhattan's expanding service-class.

What began as relatively small scale conversions by individuals and single building owners backed by small-scale capital spread. Larger financial interests 'piled in' when they realised that rehabilitation was a likely way of converting from one form of land-use to another, more profitable, one. New York's position at the centre of an increasingly international 'art market' could be harnessed profitably to the interests of capital on the grounds that the practising artists needed to be guaranteed somewhere to live and work. This created a bridgehead of residential use which then formed an unassailable precedent when the inevitable requests for subsequent conversions began to flood in.

The strength of Zukin's analysis lies in her articulation of land-use theories, developed by Harvey (1974, 1982) with 'cultural factors'⁶. She demonstrates the determination of different sections of capital to revalorize areas of downtown Manhattan through renovation in the context of their initial failure to gain official sanction to knock it all down and replace it with high rise office developments. This was made possible by

the linking of art and historical preservation to the dominant class's accumulation strategy. She terms this coincidence of interests an Artistic Mode of Production (AMP) which originally began as a response to a particular situation but became in itself a means to *'rideout and control an investment strategy'* (Zukin 1988: 176). Basically, she suggests, there is a close connection in late capitalism between accumulation and cultural consumption. In the context of New York, she notes the following effects:

"First, by an adroit manipulation of urban forms, the AMP transfers urban space from the 'old' world of industry to the 'new' world of finance, or from the realm of productive economic activity to that of non-productive economic activity. Second, the AMP transforms the local labour market. Third, it helps to lower people's expectations. Fourth, it reduces the immediacy of industrial society and its problems to a distant, historical perspective. And finally, it makes it impossible to consider a return to any version of the old urban-industrial complex." (Zukin 1988: 178)

The bearers of this AMP are the new urban middle-class

"Ideologically penetrated, in short, by the AMP, members of the new urban middle-class become consumers of both urban space and urban forms that pay for the patricians' redevelopment plans. So it appears that the new middle-class real estate markets really valorize the patricians' terrain. That is how the material base is constructed for urban conversion through the AMP." (Zukin 1988: 186)

Inevitably, material from a study of New York is exaggerated because of a much greater formal involvement by large finance capital than in London⁷. Also, the Artistic Mode of Production concept is clearly specific to areas of Manhattan such as SoHo, although no doubt a similar analysis could be applied to the development of Covent Garden for example. Nevertheless, what Zukin has done is to make explicit some of the implicit themes that underly gentrification of the inner-city by the new urban middle-class in London in the 1980s. Culture and capital here are less well-defined and not so tied to direct art and financial markets but nevertheless they are important aspects that are only available to those with access to both financial and cultural capital. Even in New York City, whilst artists might originally have been the bearers of the AMP, it quickly became evident that they were the 'pioneers' and soon outnumbered, if not displaced, by those who, whatever their sympathies might be to inner-city artistic revival, were nevertheless mainstream gentrifiers (Zukin 1988).

The service-class in the inner-city

It has now become somewhat of a truism to suggest that gentrification is a 'chaotic concept' (Hamnett 1991; Rose 1984; Warde 1991 - all after Sayer 1982).

"In place of a theory of abstract elements of a situation and how they combine to compose concrete phenomena, there is an acceptance of unexamined, largely common-sense definitions of these empirical objects and a generalisation of these 'chaotic conceptions' ... [T]hese unities of diverse aspects are treated as single objects which can be used as a basis for aggregation or else added up for manipulation in statistical analyses. " (Quoted by Rose 1984)

In Rose's words 'a theory of gentrification' has been constructed out of a 'ragbag' of indicators and elements with no particular concern about how they may relate internally to each other or externally to gentrification as a theoretical concept

"It is crucial to explore the relationships between gentrification, social and spatial restructuring of waged labour processes, and changes in the reproduction of labour power and of people. " (Rose 1984: 48)

For Rose, a major weakness in previous attempts to account for gentrification is the incorrect conflation of 'reproduction and consumption' (Rose 1984: 48). She takes issue with the manner in which reproduction is distinguished from production and therefore, as it were by default, assigned to the lesser sphere of consumption. Consumption in most marxist approaches is taken as a 'second order' concept whose rôle is to 'soak up' the output of commodity production. Even Castells' formulation which argues a definition of the urban in terms of 'collective consumption' still sees the role of consumption as an essentially secondary and supportive one to production. Rose argues that reproduction needs to be placed far more 'centre stage' in any theory of gentrification:

"Missing in all of this is an adequate conceptualization of the impacts of the major changes that have taken place in the processes through which people and labour power are reproduced and how these changes are actively reshaping urban space. " (Rose 1984: 53)

This critique, whilst valid at the time of writing⁸, is less justified today. Many of the contributions discussed above - notably Zukin (1988), Ley (1980), Smith and Williams (1986) and even, to some extent, Smith (1987a) - have accepted that, whilst gentrification is a specifically urban concept, its significance is wider than inner-city

rehabilitation. Most recent writers refer to the need to look at the concept in terms of the restructuring of the international economy and the rise of a new middle-class. Equally importantly, they accept a need to look not only at the structural economic imperatives which have caused the supply of gentrified housing and the supply of gentrifiers but also at why those potential gentrifiers want to live in the inner-city.

The answer to why some sections of the service-class choose to live in the inner-city and others choose to live in the outer suburbs and commute to work in the centre of the city, remains the question at the centre of this present thesis. A number of writers argue that it is a desire not to live in a single-class community where the physical and social distance from other class members is one and the same (Moore 1982; Williams 1986). Nevertheless, this still does not answer the question about intra service-class divisions because large numbers, probably a majority, of the service-class still live in the suburbs. It might then be argued that those most likely to gentrify are those in the new professional occupations - Gouldner's intelligentsia and technical bourgeoisie (Gouldner 1979). Although there are difficulties in operationalizing and defining the concept, it seems likely that the occupations most associated with gentrification will be predominantly in service industries, non-technical and broadly professional (as opposed to managerial)⁹. Many of these occupations are likely to involve self-employment and they are also likely to employ a higher than average number of women.

"Employers who seize the chance to recruit women into high-powered jobs should flourish. Some have grasped that already. Last year women accounted for 28% of the graduates hired by General Electric and 37% of those taken on in the United States by IBM. Not surprisingly, it is the fastest growing industries that feel most comfortable with women in their senior ranks: the information industry (including public relations, computer services and the press, financial services, tourism and design). The parts of the economy where women are rarest - upper and middle management in middle-sized companies, especially in manufacturing - are generally those now entering relative decline." (The Economist August 23 1986)

In law, medicine and dentistry nearly half of all the graduates are female

"Women now own a quarter of all American small businesses, a third of all Canadian, a fifth of all French. The women graduates of the 1960s went into relatively few occupations - often, teaching. The graduates of the 1970s have

chosen medicine, the law, banking and insurance. In Britain, 47% of medical school graduates are now women, over the past ten years, the proportion of women members of the Chartered Insurance Institute has risen from 4% to 14%, and of solicitors from 6% to 17%. In America, the proportion of executive, administrative and managerial jobs filled by women nearly doubled between 1970 and 1985. (The Economist August 23 1986)

There has been an absolute and relative growth of women in service-class occupations in London in the 1980s (Hamnett and Randolph 1986; this is also confirmed by my own analysis of the LS in chapter 5). The connection between gentrification and gender has also been made by Warde (1991).

There is some support for this argument in the literature on gentrification. Rose argues, albeit tentatively, that the role of reproduction and gender relations is theoretically more complex and crucial than has been allowed for in the literature which points to gentrifiers as a unitary group. They are, she suggests, a heterogeneous group and many are what she terms 'marginal gentrifiers' who are similar to those referred to elsewhere as 'pioneers' (Williams 1986). Amongst these would be single women bringing up children, gay people (McDonald 1983) and groups of people living collectively who are "*attracted by low prices and toleration of unconventional lifestyles*" (Holcomb and Beauregard quoted by Rose 1983: 58). As she admits, there is little specific evidence to back the 'marginal gentrifier' thesis and the concept possibly owes more to the novels of Margaret Atwood than the research literature. However the suggestion that inner-city residence for women, and particularly women with children, provides a network of support both emotionally, physically and, most importantly, with childcare is one that is taken up by other writers notably Williams (1986) and Smith (1987a).

Smith demonstrates that there has been a rapid expansion of women in the higher income ranges in the US and suggests that this group '*represents a reservoir of potential gentrifiers*' (Smith 1987a: 157). He shows that in several, albeit arbitrarily selected, gentrifying neighbourhoods in New York City the number of women rose faster than men despite the fact that, in the city as a whole, the proportion of women fell. Similar trends, at least as far as the number of women entering service-class professions, have

been reported in central London (Hamnett and Randolph 1986). In most of these selected New York neighbourhoods the female population comprised single women. In households where there are male partners, a greater proportion have two incomes.

"There are really two questions here: first, among women, is it the better economic fortunes of a relatively few women in the income hierarchy that lies behind women's involvement in gentrification - an essentially economic explanation- or is it the political and structural changes in the labour market and in styles and modes of reproduction which have loosened previously oppressive social bonds, albeit again affecting only a specific segment of women? Second, to what extent do women play a specific and different role in gentrification as women?" (Smith 1987a: 158)

In Smith's view, the marginal gentrifier approach conflates two parallel processes in the inner-city: first, the presence of the relatively poor (often the downwardly mobile middle-class) in the inner-city areas and second that of gentrifiers many of whom need the second income. Both groups are attracted to such areas although Smith suggests that evidence from New York shows a decline in female-headed households, a polarization between rich and poor women and a 'marginalization' of non-family households. He believes that it is important to see *gentrification* as the core concept rather than the agents of gentrification. Groups such as 'marginal gentrifiers', whilst initially important to the gentrification process (as 'pioneers'), become marginalized by the process as it takes off in a given area. The concept of marginal gentrification would, if accepted, have the effect of minimising the social polarization caused by gentrification and render it more difficult to identify a spatial component to service-class formation. I believe he is correct but would add that this does not diminish the possibly central role played by gender in explaining why some sections of the service-class live in the inner-city. It is the household that is the important variable and gentrification is likely to be slanted towards those occupations in which service-class women are more likely to find employment and wish to continue working during child-rearing.

Gentrification is therefore a useful concept for understanding divisions within the inner urban service-class. It needs to take into account both the production of gentrifiers

and gentrified housing but also the values and norms of those doing it. Whilst there does appear to be a fairly definable gentrifier - high socio-economic group, high income, highly educated - this of itself does not distinguish the gentrifier from other members of the service-class. Although they are more likely to be in the highly credentialed professional as opposed to managerial section of the class, there is no clear evidence that this is case. Gender, and attitudes and values about gender roles, may prove to be an important source of variation within the service-class; they may also help to answer the question about which section of the service-class is likely to gentrify the inner-city and for what reasons.

In these first three chapters, I have outlined the theoretical foundations for the empirical questions that are considered in the rest of this thesis. The argument which I have developed is that the service-class is internally divided. Specifically, I have suggested that spatial factors are an important element of service-class formation and that living in gentrified areas of inner London is attractive to part of the service-class. This claim is substantiated by reference to the literature on gentrification which, as Moore (1982) terms it, is a form of 'residential credentialism' for that section of the service-class which wishes to distinguish itself from the rest of the middle-class. This group is primarily concentrated in the professions and those working in the newer industries which are increasingly concentrated in London as a result of its renewed position at one of the poles of the world financial system. In the next chapter, the changes that have occurred in London and Hackney are discussed, in order to provide a context for this claim.

¹This process of 'definition by attribution' is inherently unsatisfactory as has been suggested in the discussion of the service class.

² Like the discovery by sociologists twenty years earlier that the extended family was alive and well in the most unlikely places, gentrification research showed the dangers that can arise when empirical findings outpace theoretical presuppositions.

³This was well illustrated by the ex-Prime Minister's purchase of a Barrat built neo-Georgian house in Dulwich and the reaction to it from Patrick Wright - a 'socialist' commentator from gentrified Hackney:

"Margaret and Dennis Thatcher bought themselves a new house in August this year; they have acquired a

seven bedroom house built by Barratt Homes in Dulwich, south-east London. The house will have lily ponds, streams and wooden bridges in the garden, and all sorts of elaborate security measures are being permanently installed throughout the walled 23-house estate.

If prosperity and security provide two elements of this upmarket experience which Barratt's have designed for top people of the lurid (my emphasis) Thatcher variety, an appropriately disciplined sense of tradition forms the third. Thatcher's new house is built in 'Neo-Georgian' style. Like many buildings going up in Britain, the house stresses its conventional modernity (its sauna and gym for example), while at the same time claiming identity with the classical tradition. In its carefully styled appearance, the house is both new and old." (Wright 1985c: 17)

The scorn is heaped on the Thatchers, not for attempting to combine the old and the new, but for the crude way in which the past is bought and constructed from new materials with no pretence at rehabilitation of the old. It is more than simply the importation of the suburbs into the city, it is the acquisition of the values associated with the classical tradition transported into a totally inappropriate environment - because for example there is simply not the space for landscaping. It is the inner city parallel of 'stockbroker Tudor' in the suburbs.

⁴It is perhaps significant that the Thatchers have now moved back to Belgravia.

⁵A similar process of cultural expropriation of time and space is demonstrated by Kasinitz (1988) in his account of the gentrification of the Boerum Hill neighbourhood of Brooklyn. The incoming middle class used all variety of cultural, historical and political ploys to enforce their definition of what the neighbourhood should be - which once more centred around the appropriation of history and style. They formed themselves into the Boerum Hill Association to further the interests of the area as they perceived them. This included changing its name from Gowanus to Boerum Hill - despite the physical absence of a hill anywhere in the vicinity. They followed this with a series of initiatives: histories of the area, house tours, gaining historic landmark status. These gave rise to a counter-movement of local renters who disrupted the houstours and organized a counter festival, 'Accion Latina', one of whose main themes was that gentrification was leading to displacement. In other words, the issue became polarized around the cultural possession of physical space.

⁶The term culture can often be used as an explanatory dustbin (see Savage 1989 and Thrift 1989 for a discussion) but Zukin's analysis is a very tight one.

⁷Residential gentrification in Docklands is probably more similar to the gentrification of Manhattan by large capital.

⁸See also Hamnett (1984a) who argues similarly that gentrification was a theoretically underdeveloped concept.

⁹One major problem about managerialism is that whilst this is fairly clearly delineated in the private sector and largely excluded from self-employment by definition, this is not the case in the public sector. Increasingly, many of the new professions in the public sector have required that as careers progress they become defined at least as managers though the occupants might dispute this and see their role as organizing service delivery.

CHAPTER FIVE:

RESTRUCTURING LONDON AND HACKNEY

The rise of an international service economy

The recession in the 1970s, like previous crises in capitalist economies, was a period of what has been termed ‘creative destruction’ Schumpeter (1982); many industries were being destroyed but new ones were also being created often in different locations and with new forms of labour process (Massey 1988; Martin 1988). Inevitably its sharpest impacts were felt in regions and localities but its causes and consequences were global. Cooke (1989; 14 -19) suggests a number of reasons for its globalization into ‘*the crisis*’. It was primarily, he argues, a period in which global antagonisms especially between the USA and the USSR flared up. He lists a number of other contributory factors: the rise of inflation and the global attempts to control it; the ‘fluctuating’ political, industrial and financial struggle between developed and less-developed nations; the relative decline in the rate of productivity in manufacturing; the rise of the newly industrialised nations; the growing migration of labour; the widening and deepening of markets.

With hindsight, it can be seen that these were all symptoms of a classic crisis of profitability within the capitalist nations; taken together they constitute what Harris (1988) calls a ‘crossroads’ for the capitalist economy world-wide. All the world’s economies were suffering from a declining rate of profit

“With the declining rate of profit two things happened. First, many firms were forced to reorganize in order to make a profit again. Second, as these firms have groped towards a new regime of capital accumulation, so a new system of regulation, based upon new national and international institutions, has shown signs of coming into being, out of the old order comes the new.

To summarise, that fundamental something underlying the economic crisis has been capitalism ‘putting its books in order’. Whereas the world-economic crisis was brought on by essentially national phenomena (albeit triggered by an international event), the solution adopted by many corporations and banks was essentially international.

At the heart of the new world-economic order, then, is a very simple process - the

internationalization of capital. Faced with falling rates of profit, firms were forced to 'automate, emigrate or evaporate' (Thrift 1988:9)

Thrift's argument that internationalization was at the heart of the response by capital to restore profitability, can be seen in three key areas.

First, markets, raw materials and production all became part of the international mosaic of the manufacturing process with each being located where it made most economic sense. Increasingly operations were integrated as part of the global strategies of the multinational companies whose dominant position was further strengthened as a result of the shakeout induced by the world recession.

Second, the internationalization of finance resulted in the decline of domestic currencies (including the US dollar) and the rise of the Eurodollar as no single currency was able to exert hegemony over the world financial system. Banks also became increasingly international in their operations. Many of the American 'money centre' banks, scalded by the reckless manner in which they lent to third world nations, declined in global importance. Increasingly Japanese financial institutions became the major players in world financial markets as they exported domestic savings on the back of a rising yen. Capital markets became internationalized with the creation of a 24 hour world trading system based around London, New York and Tokyo each with its regional and zonal satellites.

The third aspect, according to Thrift (1989), was an internationalization of the state. This has had varied effects and causes. The US arms build up and deficit funding resulted in high interest rates which proved particularly attractive to Japanese banks seeking outlets for domestic savings. Also the perceived threat of protectionism led to Japanese companies in particular setting up satellite production facilities in or near their major markets (notably North America and the European Community and specifically in peripheral regions of the UK). National governments and international organizations (the UN and its agencies, the IMF, OECD, World Bank etc) encouraged the adoption of 'favourable' economic policies ('regimes of accumulation').

There are three main consequences of this attempt to restore profitability. First, capital has become more footloose, and timeframes for decision-making have become smaller. Second, there is a growing interpenetration of capital between Japan, the US and Europe with no one area exerting hegemony - the international economy has become multipolar. Third, the borders of capitalist production have moved out from their metropolitan core (Thrift 1988: 24-26).

On a global scale, there has been a centralization of economic control and a decentralization of production. All this has had consequences for the UK 'space economy' which can be summarized as polarization between a deskilled manufacturing periphery and the South and East (Massey 1988). London (along with Tokyo and New York City) has become a keystone of the new global financial system and hence the international service economy (Thrift 1988; Leyshon et al 1987; Coakley and Harris 1983). The development of an international service economy has been associated with the growth of producer services for the corporate sector.

"Producer services are 'activities that assist user firms in carrying out administrative, developmental (research and development, strategic planning), and financial functions, banking, insurance, real estate, accounting, legal services, consulting, advertising and so forth.' (Noyelle 1983: 117-8)

Many of these functions could be carried out within the firm but are, on the whole, more efficiently provided by specialist firms which cluster in so-called world cities. Thrift divides these into three categories. First there are New York, London and Tokyo which are basically responsible for world business; second there are zonal centres (Singapore, Los Angeles, Hong Kong) which are important links in the international system with financial responsibilities for their zones. Finally, there are regional centres - Sydney, Chicago, Dallas, Miami, Honolulu and San Francisco which

"host many corporate offices and foreign financial outlets [but] they are not essential links in the international financial system." (Thrift 1988: 40)

Different cities could be added and/or subtracted from the list but the crucial point of this argument is that a relatively small number of cities have emerged across the

world whose function is tied to the provision of producer services for the increasingly multinational nature of world business. On any list or account, London features as one of the main centres (Thrift 1987).

Within such cities this has resulted in the spectacular growth of the service-class and its wealth (Thrift 1987). Sassen-Koob (1984) has described the demographic consequences of this for New York and Los Angeles

“Comparing household income for 1969 and 1979 there is an increase in the high and low-income strata and a shrinking in the middle stratum... In sum, the restructuring of labor demand contains two major trends. First, there has been a pronounced expansion in the supply of high-income professional and technical jobs associated with the growth of the advanced services and headquarters complex, high-tech industries and the technological transformation of the work process which has upgraded a vast array of what used to be middle-income jobs. Second, there has been a pronounced expansion of low-wage jobs associated with a general shift to a service economy and, more particularly, with the recomposition of industry” (Sassen-Koob 1984: 159 and 162)

The increased demand for low wage jobs has two sources. First there is an increased demand for sweated labour in what remains of the reconstituted and downgraded manufacturing sector. This tends to be in sectors producing goods that need to be near their consumer markets such as high class clothing, some electronics, furs and furniture (Sassen-Koob 1983: 263). The second source is the demand created by the service-class and the service economy

“Polarization in global cities is fed by first, the existence of a critical mass of very-high-income workers [which] has led to high-income residential and commercial gentrification of large areas of these cities. Such gentrification requires an army of low-wage workers: residential building attendants, dog walkers, housekeepers for the two-career family, workers in the gourmet restaurants and food shops, French hand laundries, and so on. Part of the goods and services produced in the so-called informal sector that is emerging in major core cities circulate through the modern sectors of the economy that caters to these high-income lifestyles: the preparation of specialty dishes for fine-food shops, the production of decorative items and luxury clothing and other personal goods, various kinds of services for cleaning, repair, errand running, and so forth. It would explain why such an informal sector is most developed in major urban cities experiencing very dynamic growth and not in cities like Detroit” (Sassen-Koob 1983: 262)

This image of a world city is the one of New York described in *The Bonfire of the Vanities*. In summary, what has been proposed is that the internationalization and globalization of the economy has had a direct impact on both class structure and the spatial organization of global cities¹. This is particularly true for London and the south and east of England; economic restructuring in the 1980s has affected, in varying degrees, all of the world's capitalist economies but

"...as an economy that has traditionally been remarkably open to foreign trade, and dependent for its survival upon export markets, the UK may be said to be a particularly clear example of a country experiencing the extremes of global restructuring, both negative and positive, as the world economy shifts its axis in directions which undermine historically powerful regions and present opportunities for development to hitherto insignificant ones." (Cooke 1989a: 19)

Within the United Kingdom the effect of global restructuring has been to deepen and accentuate existing patterns of social and spatial inequality. During the 1980s patterns of income and wealth inequality began to widen again reversing a slow post-war trend towards less inequality (Pond 1989). Regional disparities in income have also increased (Dale and Bamford 1989). In particular, the service-class in London and the South East has increased not only in size but also its share of national income (Thrift 1987; Hamnett 1990; Pond 1989). This polarization of the space economy is epitomized by a north-south, as well as an urban-rural, divide, in which London occupies a uniquely contradictory position.

London has boomed as a result of the emergence of an international service economy which has reaffirmed its position as a world financial centre but since the 1960s it has suffered a prolonged decline as a centre of manufacturing (Buck et al 1986; Coakley and Harris 1983). The detail of this decline has been complex and controversial, as are the causes of it : to some extent, the expansion in services has helped to mitigate the effects of de-industrialization of the manufacturing sector and the effects have been masked by the large scale of the population loss in the 1960s and 1970s.

The consequences² of this economic restructuring in terms of changes in social structure are also highly complex and, once more, the subject of considerable debate. A growth in social polarization, with a growth in the numbers of those at the top and bottom of occupational and income hierarchies, is often held to be a major consequence of economic restructuring. Those who argue for this position point to the decline in the numbers of the working class and the increase in size of an 'underclass', consisting both of unemployed and underemployed; at the same time there has been an expansion in the service class or, alternatively a 'middle mass' of affluent consumers (Saunders 1986a)³. If a polarization thesis is to be sustained, then it is most likely to be so in a city such as London where there has been a massive decline of manufacturing and an increase in services. An expansion of service industries and the service-class would be expected to increase the demand for low paid service workers; it has been argued that this is precisely what has occurred in New York and Los Angeles, with increased social polarization and the migration of many routine non-manual middle-class and working-class people to the suburbs (Sassen-Koob 1983). It is though far from clear that this is what has been taking place in New York, let alone London (Hamnett 1990).

In so far as there is a trend, it is towards an upgrading of occupations at the top end; recent Labour Force Survey data for example shows that the only SEGs that have increased in absolute terms in the 1980s are those of professional and managerial workers (Hamnett 1990). A polarization thesis would need to produce evidence of growth at the top *and* bottom of the occupational hierarchy. Income inequality in London has also grown; the share of income of the top decile has increased while that of the bottom decile has decreased (Pond 1989). Once more though, this does not of itself provide support for the polarization thesis which would need to show that not only had the rich got richer and the poor got poorer but also that the 'middle' had disappeared to the extremes. In effect, this means that one would need to demonstrate both a loss of routine non-manual and skilled workers and a gain in professional/managerial and unskilled workers. There is no conclusive evidence that this has happened in London. In this context, Marcuse's (1989b) concept of an emerging 'quartered city' which

contains an existing upper class and working-class, as well as the service-class and marginally employed, seems an attractive description of the contemporary global city.

The remainder of this chapter briefly reviews the evidence on economic and social restructuring for London as a whole as an introduction to an analysis of social change in Hackney during the 1970s. It has already been noted that the debates are extremely complex and that there is little agreement either on what has happened to the economic and social structure of London or on the causes and consequences of these changes. The material on London is therefore introduced very much in 'broad brush' terms, using secondary sources; it is not intended to provide more than an overview of the changes that have occurred in the industrial, occupational and housing structure of the capital as a whole. It does however provide a context for the more detailed changes, using secondary analysis of primary sources, which took place in Hackney in the 1970s. These are analysed in order to provide a detailed background for understanding the increase in service class residents and gentrification in the 1980s. Part of this background is to trace what happened, both socially and spatially, to existing residents.

The introduction to London considers three aspects of economic and social restructuring - industrial, occupational and housing tenure. The data on Hackney, whilst more detailed, are restricted to occupational and housing aspects; it is difficult to examine Hackney's industrial employment separately from the remainder of London.

Industrial Changes in London

London has long been favoured as a location by those industries that require access to consumer markets for the simple reason that it has been, and remains, the largest and wealthiest concentration of population in the country (Hall 1962; Stedman Jones 1974). It is in the heavy goods sector producing semi-finished goods (such as iron and steel) that London has been under-represented and it has no staple industry by which it can be characterised (Fothergill et al 1988).

The development of London's industry since the mid-nineteenth century largely reflected its growth as a consumer market⁴ ; this, for example, explains the rapid growth of the furniture and clothing trades in the late nineteenth century (Hall 1962; Stedman Jones 1974; GLC 1985). These trades relied heavily on sweating, a process that has been described as 'vertical disintegration' which demanded a high labour, but low power, input (Hall 1962). The scale of production was small and the workshop was the predominant form of organization. The average factory size in 1851 was 10 people and only ten factories employed more than 300 people (Stedman Jones 1974). Labour markets were extremely localised and so, therefore, were housing markets because of lack of knowledge, the absence of transport and the importance of personal contacts.

It was in the interwar period that large scale industrial development took place in the London area, largely based around electrical and consumer goods, chemicals and motor vehicles (Hall 1962). Much of this development occurred in the West Middlesex and Lea Valley 'Trading Estates'. Over half of all the new jobs created in the UK between 1923 and 1937 were in London and the Home Counties; access to markets, cheap land and cheap female labour are given as the chief reasons for this location (Hall 1962). By the beginning of the 1950s London was at the centre of the largest manufacturing area in the country.

"Industrial growth in London since the First World War, coupled with a decline in older industrial regions had given the city by the early 1960s an employment structure which was much more like that of the country as a whole than it had previously been, or than it is in the 1980s. In 1961... London had concentrations of manufacturing employment in a wide range of industries with less specialization... Thus in London, the four largest industries accounted for 50 percent of manufacturing employment, compared with 73 per cent for Clydeside, 72 per cent for the West Midlands, and 73 per cent for Bristol. London's manufacturing base included both the newer industries of the interwar period and the older craft industries, with average or above-average proportions of employment in instrument engineering, electrical engineering, leather, clothing and footwear, timber and furniture, printing and publishing, food and drink, chemicals and other manufacturing industries. There was a bias towards industries producing goods for final demand, however, rather than intermediate and capital goods. Despite the considerable decline in employment since the early 1960s, this diversity has remained a feature of London manufacturing." (Buck et al 1986: 61).

The decline is dramatic:

"In 1951 1.5 million Londoners worked in manufacturing, by 1983 this had dropped to under 600,000. Between 1971 and 1981 Britain lost 25% of its manufacturing employment, London lost 36% and inner London 41%. Employment in associated infrastructural and distributive sectors fell by a quarter 1961-81." (Hamnett and Randolph 1986: 1)

Table 5.1

Employment changes in London 1951-84

	All Industries	Manufacturing	Production excl manufacturing	Services
1951-61	+17700	+400	-1400	+18700
1961-66	-14300	-30700	+4700	-11700
1966-71	-54300	-38400	-13200	-2700
1971-74	-30800	-49200	-6200	+24600
1974-78	-41800	-33100	-5100	-3600
1978-81	-34800	-24500	-4500	-5800
1981-84	-33900	-32300	-7900	+5400

Source: Buck et al (1986: 66)

According to Buck (1986: 67), the decline in manufacturing employment in London has outstripped its decline nationally, although by the recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s it has ceased to suffer any differential loss.

Table 5.2

Decline in employment Greater London 1973-83

Sector	Numbers	Employed	% Change
	1973	1983	
Manufacturing			
Food, drink and tobacco	99,766	61,000	-39
Coal, petroleum and chemical products	60,860	44,000	-28
Metal manufacture	19,911	10,000	-50
Engineering and allied industries	404,871	266,000	-34
Textiles, leather and clothing	88,670	40,000	-55
Other manufacturing	250,008	173,000	-31
All manufacturing	924,086	594,000	-36
Infrastructure			
Construction	197,073	144,000	-27
Gas, electricity and water	56,156	41,000	-27
Transport and communications	419,672	340,000	-19
Distribution			
Distributive trades	528,939	459,000	-17
Other Services			
Financial, professional and miscellaneous services	1,397,716	1,468,000	+5
Public administration and defence	344,700	313,000	-13
All industries	3,872,739	3,366,000	-13

Source: GLC (1985: 4)

The decline in manufacturing has been ameliorated, but by no means compensated for, by the growth in services (Fothergill et al 1988; GLC 1985). The service sector (but particularly the public sector) grew strongly during the 1960s but, by the 1970s, a decline in public sector services was beginning to occur and the only growth was in financial, professional and miscellaneous services (GLC 1985). It has been estimated that between 1973 and 1982 more than half a million jobs were lost to the London economy (GLC 1985: 5).

The complexity of the data summarised in Table 5.2 is underlined by more recent data looking at the period 1981-7 (see Table 5.3 below). It demonstrates how employment loss in London has continued throughout the 1980s to outstrip not only the South East but the country as a whole. Even in the sectors which have shown growth (Banking, Insurance and Finance; Service Industries as a whole), this has been only slightly above the national average and well below that for the South East as a whole.

Table 5.3
Number and Percentage change in Employees in Employment 1981-7 by Division/Class (000s)

Division/Class	1980 SIC	Great Britain		South East		Greater London		ROSE	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Agriculture, Forestry	0	-37	-10.1	-6	-7.6	-1	-50.0	-5	-6.5
Energy & Water	1	-208	-29.38	-24	-19.0	-8	-14.3	-16	-22.9
Metal Manufacturing & Chemicals	2	-145	15.8	-23	12.2	-15	-20.8	-8	-6.9
Metal Goods, Engineering & Vehicles	3	-145	-21.3	-199	-22.8	-95	-31.7	-104	-18.2
Other Manufacturing	4	-202	-8.9	-72	-11.7	-54	-17.5	-18	-5.8
Construction	5	-79	-7.3	-45	-13.3	-35	-22.2	-10	-5.6
Wholesale distribution, Hotels & Catering	61-63 66-67	+282	+13.8	+81	+11.3	+4	+1.1	+77	+21.9
Retail distribution	64/65	+31	+1.5	+40	+5.5	+15	+4.7	+25	+6.2
Transport & Communication	7	-50	-3.6	-23	-3.8	-3.8	-10.2	+15	+6.4
Banking, Insurance & Finance	8	+630	+36.5	+323	+37.9	+154	+27.1	+169	+59.3
Public Administration & Defence	91-92	+157	+8.6	+77	+11.3	+20	+5.3	+57	+18.7
Education, Health & other services	93-99	+411	+10.2	+143	+9.9	+4	+0.6	+139	+18.0
Production & Construction	1-5	-1241	-15.8	-363	-17.0	-207	-23.1	-156	-12.5
Service industries	6-9	+1461	+11.1	+641	+12.8	+159	+6.0	+482	+20.5
Total	0-9	+183	+0.9	+272	+3.8	-50	-1.4	+322	+8.8
Males	-	-408	-3.3	-25	-0.6	-85	-4.1	+60	+2.9
Females - Total	-	+592	+6.5	+298	+9.5	+35	+2.3	+263	+16.3
- Full time	-	+164	+3.1	+183	+9.8	+43	+4.3	+140	+16.0
- Part time	-	+428	+11.3	+115	+9.2	-8	-1.6	+123	+16.6

Source: SERPLAN Monitor (1988: 37)

Table 5.3 illustrates the dangers of making simple generalizations about the industrial changes that have taken place in London during the 1980s; it would apparently contradict the claim by Buck (1986) that London's manufacturing did not suffer disproportionately (compared to the rest of the economy) in the early 1980s. It would also cast doubt on the compensatory effect of services.

The result of these changes has been a net loss of approximately half a million jobs in the 1980s, with growing unemployment; officially there were 132,000 unemployed in 1979 and over 400,000 by 1985. It has been estimated that there were another 120,000 who would work if there was the opportunity (GLC 1985: 6). Many of the big multinational employers in East London closed their operations down during this period. Approximately 20,000 docks jobs and 53,000 manufacturing jobs disappeared in East London between 1971-8 (GLC 1985). By the early 1980s unemployment rates of over 20% were the norm in north-east and south-east London. Migration out of London has meant that the official unemployment rate since 1961 has been much lower than it would have been if the overall population had not declined so fast and has served to disguise the loss of jobs (Fothergill et al 1988).

The reasons for this decline in manufacturing are complex and they have been the subject of considerable debate. One strand of the debate has argued that as transport costs have declined in relation to the cost of production, as the population has moved out of the capital and, as production technology has changed, so the need to locate production in the London area has declined (Fothergill et al 1988; Fothergill and Gudgin 1982). Supporters of this view argue that local factors, such as congestion, planning blockages, and old and inefficient premises were the prime cause for this very rapid decline. A variant of this approach holds that government and large multinational corporations have been responsible for this decline by adopting policies which concentrate a few top managers at the centre and disperses all other activities including production out of London (Simmie 1985). This approach tends to gloss over where the real roots of economic power lie and fails to address the question as to *why* multinationals adopt such policies.

The reasons for London's industrial decline are far more fundamental and are associated with reasons for the decline of manufacturing in the UK economy as a whole. In this view, the decline was caused by macro-economic factors which may have been enhanced by specific locational factors⁵. The basic premise is that in the 1970s and 1980s the alternatives facing capital were between restructuring or going out of business ('*automate, emigrate or evaporate*'). Spatial reorganization was a key element in restructuring and that meant a concentration of power at the centre (such as London) and a dispersal of production to low cost and geographically peripheral locations. This approach has been most systematically encapsulated in Massey's (1984) concept of a 'spatial division of labour' (Massey 1984; Harvey 1974). The GLC (1985) analysis of London's employment decline looks at the industries sector by sector using a broadly similar methodology⁶.

"The[se] tendencies form the basis for the spatial pattern of changes which have been occurring in the postwar period. These have been first, the decentralization of more routine production activity from core regions to more peripheral regions, in pursuit of labour reserves, particularly men and women previously employed in the declining industries; second, the movement of activities such as research and development to the environmentally favoured areas of Southern England; third, the concentration of control functions within the London region. These factors also suggest reasons for the long-term decline in production in London, given constrained premises, somewhat higher costs for some activities and other perceived adverse features of the environment." (Buck 1986: 87)

The general trend therefore for industrial location has been a disproportionate loss of manufacturing employment; services have failed to grow as rapidly as elsewhere in the south and east. This generalization needs to be treated with great care given the changes over time and between sectors but also between different areas of London, inner versus outer, west against south east, for example (Buck 1986). It is also not possible to 'read off' changes in the social structure from such a 'broad brush' approach to the analysis of industrial change. In order to begin to understand these changes, it is now necessary to look at the kinds of occupational changes that have accompanied this process.

Occupational changes

What have been the implications of this loss of jobs and production and differential growth for the occupational structure of London ?

"Accompanying the changes in London's economic structure have been changes in its occupational structure. As manufacturing industry has declined, so have the skilled and semi-skilled, predominantly male, factory jobs which went with it. And, as the financial and business service sector has grown, so has the number of managerial and professional jobs and the routine office jobs, many of which are filled by women.

Changes in occupational structure are important because they shape the socio-economic and income distribution of cities. But they cannot simply be read off from changes in industrial structure, not least because people do not always live where they work. Large numbers of commuters work in London but live outside it., and in the last 30 years London has seen a net loss of population by out-migration of about 1.5 million people. As the out-migrants are generally more skilled than non-migrants, this has led to fears that the occupational structure of London's residents is shifting downwards." (Hamnett 1990: 27)

Hamnett goes on to argue that there are three possible views of this occupational change; 'proletarianization', 'polarization' and 'gentrification'. All the changes have taken place in the context of an overall decline of the economically active population from approximately 3.82 million in 1971 to 3.37m by 1981 - a loss of 455,000 or 12%. This loss has been uneven

"The number of professional and managerial workers fell by 4% and other non-manual workers by 11%, but the manual groups all declined by far more. The number of skilled manual and self-employed non-professional workers fell by 22%, the semi-skilled and personal service workers by 14% and the unskilled by 29%.

As a result of these differential losses, the professional and managerial group grew from 14% of the total in 1971 to 17% in 1981. The share of the other non-manual group grew by 0.5%, while manual groups showed corresponding losses. Viewed in isolation from the changes in the rest of the southeast, where the professional and managerial group grew more rapidly than in London, the occupation evidence suggests that the trend is one of upward shift rather than proletarianization or polarization. There were fewer semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers in London in 1981 than there were in 1971 and their share of the total has decreased rather than grown." (Hamnett 1990: 28)

This trend has in fact carried on into the 1980s, which is demonstrated by data from the 1986/7 Labour Force Survey. A comparison of this data and the 1981 Census data for London produces the percentage point changes in Table 5.4 below

Table 5.4
Change in occupational structure 1981-7: London and the South East (PPC)

Occupational Category	South East		Greater London		Rest of the South East	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Professional/ Managerial	+5.5	+1.5	+6.4	+2.0	+4.9	+1.2
Other non-manual	0	-1.0	-0.6	-0.6	+0.5	-1.2
Skilled / Self employed	-0.8	+1.6	-1.2	+0.7	-0.8	+2.2
Semi-skilled/ Personal Service	-2.4	-1.5	-2.1	-1.2	-2.3	-1.9
Unskilled	-1.2	0	-2.0	-0.9	-0.8	+0.3
Unclassified	-1.2	-0.6	-0.4	+0.2	-1.4	-0.7

Table 5.4 does little to suggest that there has been greater polarization, but does reinforce the argument that there has been a relative upgrading of London's occupational structure; there is nothing to suggest a further growth at the bottom in support of either a 'polarization' or 'proletarianization' thesis. Compared to the south east, the professional and managerial class has shown a relative increase in size.

One aspect of the restructuring of the industrial and occupational structure that has been hinted at in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 is the increased salience of gender. The Longitudinal Study (LS) of intercensal data⁷, has been used by a number of researchers interested in patterns of social and spatial change (Savage 1988b; Savage and Fielding 1989; Fielding 1989). Hamnett and Randolph's (1986) analysis of the changes in London's industrial structure using the LS shows that there are important sectoral and gender variations and points to a possible linking of industrial and occupational change through gender differences. These are summarised in table 5.5:

Table 5.5:

Changes in the industrial composition of the economically active and employed resident London workforce 1971-81

Industry Group	1971	%	1981	%	71-81	%	PPC
All Employees							
EUM	8971	29.8	5852	21.5	-3119	-34.8	-8.3
CDT	9269	30.8	8512	31.3	-754	-8.1	+0.5
Services	11667	38.7	12638	46.4	+971	+8.3	+7.7
IID	230	0.8	230	0.8			
Total	30137		27235		-2902	-9.6	
Males							
	1971	%	1981	%	71-81	%	PPC
EUM	5808	32.8	4035	25.6	-1773	-30.5	-7.2
CDT	6356	35.9	5930	37.6	-426	-6.7	+1.7
Services	5428	30.7	5696	36.1	+268	+4.9	+5.4
IID	112	0.6	118	0.7	+6	+5.4	+0.1
Totals	17704		15779		-1925	-10.9	
Females							
	1971	%	1981	%	71-81	%	PPC
EUM	3136	25.4	1817	15.9	-1346	-42.3	-9.5
CDT	2913	23.4	2585	22.6	-328	-11.7	+0.8
Services	6239	50.2	6942	60.6	+703	+11.3	10.4
IID	118	0.9	112	1.0	-6	-5.0	+0.1
Totals	12433		11456		-977	-7.9	

EUM = Energy, Utilities and Manufacturing;

CDT = Communications, Construction, Distribution & Transport;

IID = Other industrial classifications.

Source: Hamnett and Randolph (1986)

Table 5.5 suggests that one key impact of restructuring has been a polarization around gender; manufacturing and distribution have shrunk around a male core whilst services have expanded and become increasingly feminized. The authors go on to argue that, within these industry changes, this polarization has been further exaggerated between primary and secondary sectors of the labour market. Over 80% of the primary non-manual workforce was male but less than a third of the secondary non-manual (Hamnett and Randolph 1986: 26). They conclude

"Within the service sector as a whole, the growth of employment opportunities appears to have been concentrated into the primary non-manual and secondary manual segments. The loss of secondary non-manual workers was more than compensated for by an increase in secondary manual workers, the bulk of whom were males. It is also clear that the service sector offers few opportunities for primary manual jobs in 1981, little changed from the 1971 proportion."
(Hamnett and Randolph 1986: 32)

Thus part of the complexity involved in analysing industrial and occupational changes in London in the 1980s is that, whilst there has been no evidence of occupational polarization at an aggregate level, there is clear evidence of polarization taking place *between* the male and female workforces. In other words, gender appears to have been a major factor influencing the restructuring of the labour market,

“...with male occupations showing a clear tendency to polarise between the high status managerial and professional and lower skill manual jobs. For women, job opportunities had polarised between higher and lower status positions in non-manual work and there was little evidence of occupational mobility between these two sectors” (Hamnett and Randolph 1986: 33)

In manufacturing, women's employment declined dramatically in both primary and secondary sectors, although this was probably exaggerated by the practice of putting many of the 'service functions' in manufacturing (eg cleaning and canteens) out to contract and thus moving them into 'services'.

This emphasis on gender reinforces the claim that gender has been an important concept in the restructuring process (McDowell 1988). It was also suggested in the previous chapter that gender might be an important subsidiary variable in accounting for why some sections of the service class were more likely than others to become inner-city gentrifiers. The final section of this overview of the changes which have taken place in London in the 1970s and 1980s is concerned with changes in housing tenure since, if there has been a process of social upgrading and gentrification, this will be reflected in changes in the housing tenure of London's population.

Housing change

Changes in housing tenure are no more amenable to being 'read off' from changes in 'industrial structure' than are changes in the occupational structure. In fact, they are likely to be even more independent since housing, as we have seen from the previous debate on gentrification, can be seen as both a cultural good and a form of capital accumulation and often constitutes both - at least as far as individual owner occupiers are concerned (Smith 1979a; Ley 1980). The changes that have taken place in

London's housing market are, though, considerably clearer than the changes in either its industrial or occupational structure.

The main features of this are the rapid decline of the private rented sector, particularly in areas of central and inner London, and the emergence of a new socio-tenurial division within the housing market between council rented tenure and owner occupation (Hamnett & Randolph 1988; Barlow 1989). This has occurred in the context of large-scale exodus of population to outer London and beyond and it is tempting to suggest that the inner city has been left to those unable to move and to the new 'gentry'.

Those who are unable to move have usually been the most vulnerable socially and economically (Cross 1983). In inner London the sale of council property has been minimal both because of the undesirability of the property but also because the 'price:income ratio' is the least favourable and the occupants the least able to raise the mortgage (Forest & Murie 1986). It might be argued that if there is a social division in London, particularly in inner London, it is now between those in owner occupation and those who are council tenants:

"It would appear ... that the degree and form of economic dependency within the population of the two tenures has become a major line of division between them. At the risk of over-generalization, these data strongly suggest that council housing in London has become increasingly characterised as a tenure for both the elderly and those displaced from the labour market whereas home ownership has become increasingly associated with economically active household with children." (Hamnett and Randolph 1988: 386)

This is certainly an exaggerated claim, nevertheless there is a clear link between labour market position and ability to operate within the housing market - in inner London owner occupation has progressively moved beyond the reach of all those except in the professional and managerial classes (Nationwide Anglia 1988). With the virtual elimination of the private sector and the increasing social marginalization of council accommodation, it does seem that there are two housing classes in inner London: owner occupation for those that can afford it and council rented accommodation for those who can't. This now seems to be having some consequences for inter-generational

occupational mobility; entrants to the labour market from owner occupied households tend to be found in non-manual occupations whereas those from council rented tenure are more likely to enter manual occupations (Hamnett & Randolph 1988: 397). Nationally two thirds of households are now in owner occupation; this proportion is inverted for inner London. Claims that one can infer social status from an individual or household's housing tenure do not make much sense in a society where two thirds are in the superordinate category (Saunders 1986 but also see Saunders 1990 where he modifies this view somewhat). In inner London, though, the polarization between housing tenures is a useful indicator of social divisions.

Summary of trends in London

The evidence on what has been happening to the socio-economic structure of London is highly complex, with significant variations from trend occurring both over time and between different areas. Nevertheless, at the risk of over-generalization, it is possible to summarize the following trends. London has been losing manufacturing employment faster than the rest of the economy since the early 1960s and, whilst this was, to some extent, mitigated by a powerful growth of services in the public sector in the 1960s and 1970s, this has slowed in the 1980s. The only major growth sector has been in producer services but this too has lagged behind the south east as a whole; there has also been a growth in unemployment and the rate of economic inactivity. This has all taken place in the context of significant population loss in the 1960s and 1970s which has slowed in the 1980s. The fact that London has to be considered as part of a single South East labour market area with people travelling considerable distances to work makes it difficult to analyse the implications of industrial change for occupational and social structures.

There has been a clear upgrading of the occupational status of those remaining in London - the service-class has increased its share of population by about 10% between 1971-81 and continued to grow during the 1980s - but this has also occurred in the South East as a whole. In inner London, housing tenure has become an important

indicator of status differentials, between those in professional and managerial employment and everyone else. To this extent there is some evidence of polarization but this has occurred through a process of upgrading and expansion in the service-class rather than the growth of an under class ('polarization') or the expansion of the working class ('proletarianization'). Even this picture of upgrading needs to be carefully qualified because, whilst the professional and managerial group has increased compared to other groups, it has more entrances and exits proportional to its size than any other group. In the 1971-81 intercensal period, inner London has acted as a magnet for upwardly mobile service-class members but it has also lost many such people as well once their careers have become established (Savage 1988b; Fielding 1989).

Hackney 1971-81

How does this mesh with the experience of Hackney? Hackney council was proud to advertise itself across the borough in the early 1980s as one of the most deprived areas in the country. Owner occupation was considerably lower than the national average whilst the proportion of the population in the lower social classes and economically inactive was considerably higher (London Borough of Hackney 1980, 1982, 1983). Harrison (1983) demonstrates the deprivation suffered by a majority of its citizens and implies that the third world is with us in the contemporary inner city. Eversley and Begg using a variety of census-based social indicators ranked the inner city partnership area of Hackney and Islington as the 12th most deprived area in the United Kingdom (Hausner and Robson 1985: 10). Gentrification is confined to relatively discrete geographical areas of the borough and, as is nearly always the case, co-exists with some of the areas of greatest deprivation. The remainder of this chapter concentrates on the changes which have taken place in the occupational and housing structure of Hackney and how these changes have been mediated through migration into and out of the borough. The role played by gender differences in this is also examined.

The data source for this analysis is mainly the Census Longitudinal Study (LS) although, since the data refers to the period 1971-81, it is merely suggestive of the

changes that have taken place subsequently in the 1980s. Nevertheless, as Smith (1986) and Marcuse (1986) point out, a process of gentrification, which is after all an important aspect of the restructuring of the city, usually occurs after the replacement/displacement of an existing population. Smith (1979a) observes that displacement in the United Kingdom is more likely to be tenure displacement rather than the physical displacement that happens in the United States. The difference between those who have left the area and those who have moved into council housing is likely to be significant; those who are upwardly mobile will, it is hypothesized, move into owner occupation in outer London and beyond whilst those who are static or even downwardly mobile will move into council accommodation in the same area. It is also quite probable that there will be some move out of furnished rented accommodation into owner occupation by young gentrifiers.

There are limitations in the use of LS data; mainly because it is a 1 % sample of the population and therefore cell sizes are relatively small. This becomes particularly relevant when trying to look at more than one variable at a time; for example; it is not possible to produce meaningful tables for looking at how gender has interacted with occupational mobility and migration. I have therefore initially restricted the analysis to the changes that have taken place in the occupational structure and housing tenure of Hackney by looking at the data cross-sectionally.

Occupational change

The overall changes in the occupational structure between 1971 and 1981 are indicated by Table 5.6⁸.

Table 5.6:
Changes in occupational structure of the resident Hackney population (LSMs)

	1971	1981	1971 %	1981 %	71-81 change	71-81 %	PPC
PNM	139	137	11.6	14.7	- 2	- 1.4	+3.1
SNM	275	168	23.0	18.0	-107	-38.9	-5.0
PM	366	200	30.6	21.5	-166	-45.4	-9.0
SM	395	288	28.0	30.9	-107	-27.1	+2.9
Unempl	82	139	6.9	14.9	+ 57	+69.5	+8.0
Total	1257	932	100	100	-325	-25.9	

source: LS Tables TB01;TB02

In contrast to the picture for London as a whole, there has been a process of polarization and marginalization amongst the workforce in Hackney with an absolute growth in only one category, the unemployed, and a relative growth at the extremes. The 'percentage point change' (ppc) column demonstrates that it is at each end of the labour market that growth appears to have taken place (ie the primary non-manuals and the secondary manuals) with the greatest losses occurring amongst the routine non-manual (SNM) and skilled manual workers (PM). It must be stressed that this polarization arises out of a situation where the number of those in every single category in employment *fell* so that it is thus very much a relative affair. Nevertheless, the growth of unemployment, economic inactivity and a relative growth in secondary manual occupations on the one hand and of primary non-manual professional occupations, on the other, is leading to a growing gulf between the mass of have-nots and a few relatively affluent inhabitants.

Tenurial changes

This trend in employment is broadly matched by a polarization in the housing market between owner occupation and the council sector. It is argued that the council sector, especially in inner urban areas, has become marginalized (Forest and Murie 1987b). This is supported by the data in table 5.7:

Table 5.7:
Changes in Household Tenure Hackney 1971-81

	1971					1981					PPC 1971-81		1971-81 %	
HH Ten-ure	HH	HH %	Person	Pers %	P/ HH	HH	HH %	Person	Pers %	P/ HH	Pers	HH	HH	
OO ⁹	9293	11.6	32190	14.9	3.5	11331	16.6	37647	21.3	3.3	+6.4	+5.0	+22	
CR	34015	42.6	95137	44.1	2.8	44328	64.8	113344	64.2	2.6	+20.1	+22.2	+30	-
RU	26380	33.1	66939	31.1	2.5	7377	10.8	15990	9.1	2.2	-22.1	-22.3	-72	
RF	9009	11.3	18500	8.6	2.1	5409	7.9	9563	5.4	1.8	-3.2	-3.4	-40	
NA	1114	1.4	2838	1.3	2.6						-1.3	-1.4		
Tot	79811	100	215604	100		68445	100	176544	100			0		

Source : Census 1971 (Small Area Statistics) Ward Library
Census 1981 (Small Area Statistics)

The restructuring of housing markets which was identified as taking place in London as a whole is being repeated in Hackney (Hamnett and Randolph 1983). Its

major feature, over the intercensal period 1971-81, has been a massive decline in private rented tenure (down by nearly 75%), whilst council rented tenure has increased by nearly a third over the same period. In numerical terms, the number of households in private rented tenure has declined by about 19,000 and council tenancies have increased by about 10,000. The increase in owner occupation, by approximately 2,000 households or 22%, has been more modest but nevertheless is striking when it is appreciated how this is concentrated in a relatively small number of wards. There is no suggestion that this has been a straightforward move of households or persons from the private to the council rented sector or owner occupation since there has been an overall loss of approximately 11,000 households¹⁰. The decline in private rented tenancies has undoubtedly created the housing for transfer either to owner occupation or to the council sector (Williams 1976). It would though be hard to claim conclusively that the decline in the private rented sector was a form of displacement which preceded gentrification without more precise micro-data about what was happening to that housing stock or to the individuals in it (Smith, Duncan & Reid 1988; Williams 1976). The evidence for gentrification is therefore quite strong in that inner city housing was clearly moving into owner occupation. This must be kept in perspective as there were approximately 6,000 new persons living in owner occupied housing but approximately 51,000 fewer people living as private tenants, so direct displacement was low¹¹.

These data support the contention, in the previous section, that a socio-tenorial polarization was occurring in inner London between owner occupation and the council rented sector. It was however argued in the previous section that there was not evidence of occupational polarization in London as a whole, although in the case of Hackney there is more evidence to suggest occupational polarization is beginning to occur. The LS is extremely valuable here, since it can track the changes that have occurred to individuals sampled between the two census points. It would also be possible, if the numbers were larger, to look at how the relationships between occupational and tenorial change have occurred. In view of the numbers problem, these are treated separately.

The LS evidence for Hackney

A subset of the London datastream of the LS was used to examine the changes that had taken place in Hackney in the period 1971-81¹². Four variables were used in this analysis: labour market position; housing tenure; gender; and, a mobility indicator. Labour market position was operationalized into five broad categories according to the OPCS classification of Socio Economic Group (SEG) of the LS member (LSM)¹³. For the purposes of the following analysis the economically inactive have usually been combined into a category 'NA'. This classification allows us to analyse not only changes within the occupational structure but also moves in and out of it¹⁴.

The classification of housing market tenure is fourfold: owner occupation; council rented; private unfurnished; private furnished. The fifth category of non-private (NA) has not been included in the analysis because the numbers are insignificant. The mobility indicator is also fourfold - those who have not moved residence 1971-81 ('non-mover'); those who have moved within Hackney ('within mover'); those who have moved out of Hackney ('outmover'); and, those who have moved into Hackney ('inmover').

The purpose of the analysis is to investigate the extent to which social mobility over the period is associated with changes in either housing or labour market position or both. Are those who are mobile on one indicator mobile on the other and, to what extent are these movements associated with geographical mobility and gender? The reasons for asking these questions are determined broadly by the questions raised in chapters one, two and three about service-class formation and gentrification. In chapter three, data from the LS nationally were quoted which showed that social mobility into the service-class was spatially specific. The south east was seen as a magnet for service-class recruits but also as a stepping stone out of which many of the more established service-class members migrated (Savage 1988, Fielding 1989).

The argument being developed is that the service-class is a fragmented class and that spatial difference is significant in accounting for divisions within its social

formation. It is also important to understand where those people, who have either been displaced by gentrification or who have made the decision to leave London have gone, and, to what extent that migration can also be linked to processes of class formation and class structure. A crucial link in the argument which was proposed in chapter three and four is that gender mediates between occupational and residential factors; in other words gentrification involves a disproportionate number of dual-income households where the female partner continues to work after having children.

Tables 5.8 and 5.9 show where 1971 LSMs, in terms of their 1971 labour and housing market positions respectively, have moved to by 1981¹⁵.

Table 5.8:
Migration patterns by labour market position of 1971 Hackney LSMs

	PNM		SNM		PM		SM		NA	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
NonMover	24	22	62	27	96	33	150	39	164	24
WithinMover	21	20	32	14	79	27	119	31	223	33
Outmover	62	58	132	58	120	41	114	30	288	43
Total	107	100	226	100	295	100	383	100	675	100

Non-manual groups were twice as likely to move out of the borough as either of the manual groups, but the primary manuals were more likely to move than the secondary group. This suggests that those who moved were those with more skills and also that spatial mobility is a strategy adopted by the relatively advantaged to further their advantage. This is reinforced by the data for tenure mobility, given in table 5.9:

Table 5.9:
Migration patterns by housing market position of 1971 Hackney LSMs

	OO		CR		RU		RF		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
NonMover	117	46	265	35	111	20	7	6	500	30
WithinMover	43	17	211	28	174	32	48	39	476	28
Outmover	95	37	292	38	259	48	68	55	714	42
Total	255	100	768	100	544	100	123	100	1690	100

Forty percent of LSMs moved out of Hackney between 1971 and 1981 across all tenures, with a greater propensity for those who were tenants (and especially private tenants) to move out of Hackney. The differences between categories here are less than for occupational categories but it is significant that tenants are more likely to move than

owner occupiers which implies that those who are particularly likely to move out are those fearful of becoming 'entrapped' in inner-city rented accommodation, private or council, in a situation where they could not afford to buy. The hypothesis must be that, by moving out of Hackney, they could afford to become owner-occupiers and/or upgrade their occupational position. The data from table 5.8 imply that it was the occupationally most advantaged who were able to pursue this strategy. Neither table gives data for those moving in since, by definition, those who moved into Hackney were not 1971 Hackney LSMs; also, it turns out, many of them were young people who were either still at school or in higher education, so the data on mobility would be of limited use.

The data presented so far only give a 'snap shot', the power of the LS is its ability to look at what happens to individuals over time. The problem is how to present this in a meaningful way. Since it is being argued that the spatial dimension may be a key explanatory variable in understanding social mobility, the main category used for analysing change in the remainder of this section is mobility ie non-movers, within-movers, out-movers and in-movers.

Non-movers

Table 5.8 suggests that it was those at the bottom end of the occupational structure who were least likely to move. This proposition is examined in more detail in the Table 5.10.

Table 5.10:
Labour market changes for non-moving LSM continuing residents (LSMs)

		1971					
		PNM	SNM	PM	SM	NA	Total
1981	PNM	14	2	2	3	7	28
	SNM	4	29	3	10	30	76
	PM	1	6	58	14	11	90
	SM	4	17	28	87	28	164
	NA	1	8	5	36	88	138
	Total	24	62	96	150	164	496

The overall trend for those who do not move house is stability (or arguably stagnation) in occupational terms¹⁶. The non-manual categories have expanded slightly, and, in both cases, their largest source of recruitment is from the economically inactive

who are, for the most part, young people leaving school or higher education. There is very little 'leakage' from the primary non-manual sector, and a little more from the secondary non-manuals which is mainly to the secondary manual.

This is not the case with manual workers; the primary manual group is the only one to shrink and the biggest source of 'leakage' is downward into the secondary manual sector. The latter has expanded more from the existing workforce than from young people. Given the overall upgrading of occupations, it appears that those who have remained geographically static have experienced little occupational mobility. There has been some downward mobility amongst manual workers. The economically inactive group has recruited mainly from the secondary manuals, presumably they have retired and not been able to leave the area. The continuing high numbers of economically inactive is a feature of those who have not moved.

Within-movers

This mobility group provides the best indication of what has been happening to both the existing working-class population and to the younger middle-class. Many of the former would have lived in private unfurnished housing and, with its decline, have probably either left London or moved into council property in the borough. Some of the latter would have moved into furnished rented property as students or on entering the labour market and would normally be expected either to 'move on' either out of the area or into owner occupation. The housing tenure changes are likely to be indicative of gentrification and a restructuring of the housing market in two ways. First, because, as Smith (1979a) notes, in the United Kingdom, displacement from private rented to council rented is usually a precursor to gentrification. Second, because gentrification is generally undertaken by young professionals already living in the city; a shift of this group therefore from private furnished tenure into owner occupied housing would indicate the beginnings of gentrification.

Table 5.11:
Housing tenure changes for LSMs moving within Hackney 1971-81 (LSMs)

1971						
		OO	LA	RU	RF	Total
1981	OO	21	8	13	10	52
	LA	20	192	116	31	359
	RU	1	9	44	6	60
	RF	1	2	1	1	5
	Total	43	211	174	48	476

The main changes do concern those in private rented accommodation. Only 44 of the 174 1971 LSMs in private unfurnished tenure remained in it in 1981; the vast majority (116) moved into the local authority sector which expanded from 211 LSMs to 359 in 1981. Of the 48 in furnished rented accommodation, only one person in private furnished accommodation remained in the same tenure ten years later. Whilst most of them moved into council housing, 10 LSMs (ie approximately 1,000 people since it is a 1% sample) moved to owner occupation. These people could be the beginning of a gentrification process.

The pattern for within-movers in labour market terms is remarkably similar to those who do not move.

Table 5.12:
Labour market changes for within-moving LSMs, continuing residents

1971							
		PNM	SNM	PM	SM	NA	Total
1981	PNM	9	0	3	6	5	23
	SNM	4	15	3	6	20	48
	PM	1	4	39	13	16	73
	SM	5	9	31	75	47	167
	NA	2	4	3	19	135	153
	Total	21	32	79	119	223	474

The fastest rates of growth were in the secondary non-manual (which grew by 50%) and in the secondary manual sector. Once again those primary manual workers remaining in Hackney experienced a high degree of downward mobility. This would suggest that for those who are not in service-class positions, there is a move towards more marginal occupations in both the manual and non-manual sectors. This supports the evidence of occupational polarization for those that remain in the inner city.

It is difficult to link housing market change to labour market change given the relatively small numbers involved. Table 5.13 is, however, an attempt to give an indication of the relationship between the two variables¹⁷. Each cell indicates the percentage of 'within movers' in the appropriate mobility category.

Table 5.13:
Housing and labour Market mobility 1971-81 for within movers (LSMs)

		Housing Market			Total %
		+	0	-	
Labour Market	+	5.3	17.9	2.1	25.3
	0	24.0	28.7	4.5	57.2
	-	7.0	9.6	0.9	17.5
Total %		36.3	56.2	7.5	

The table, to a large extent, reflects the assumption built into it which is that there has been a general upgrading of the housing market with the decline of the private rented sector and the expansion of the local authority sector. Given the social stigmatization and marginalization now attached to council housing this is perhaps doubtful. It does however show that whilst the proportions who are stable in each market are roughly the same, there is a considerably greater downward mobility in occupational as opposed to tenurial terms. Whilst the assumptions might be questionable, the table does have a use when used as a basis for comparison with other mobility categories.

Out-movers

The destinations of those mobile out of Hackney are indicated by table 5.14:

Table 5.14:
Destinations of outmoving LSM by geographic area

	OO	%	LA	%	RU	%	RF	%	Tot	Tot %
Rest GLC	71	74	175	60	152	59	43	63	441	62
Rest South East	13	14	95	33	76	29	13	19	197	28
Rest England and Wales	11	12	22	8	31	12	12	18	76	11
Total	95	100	292	100	259	100	68	100	714	100

It appears that nobody moves very far, with owner occupiers in particular tending to stay in the London conurbation, possibly by 'trading up' to a more desirable borough. Those in rented accommodation, whether private or council, tend to move out to buy

their own home, providing some proof for the hypothesis suggested above. The large number of renters who become owner occupiers amongst the outmovers is shown by table 5.15:

Table 5.15:
Housing tenure changes for LSMs, moving out of Hackney 1971-81(LSMs)

1971						
		OO	LA	RU	RF	Total
1981	OO	69	129	122	44	364
	LA	16	139	102	13	270
	RU	6	18	31	8	63
	RF	4	6	4	3	17
	Total	95	292	259	68	714

Those LSMs who have left Hackney have been able to upgrade their tenure position, indeed this may have been their prime reason for leaving Hackney. Owner occupation had a fairly low level of ‘leakage’ (ie movement to other tenures) but all the other main tenures have shown a high degree of mobility - in the case of the local authority sector approximately 44% became owner occupiers and, in the case of private tenants moving out of unfurnished accommodation, 47% became owner occupiers and 39% moved into the local authority sector. It is not possible to impute causality from this data but there must be a very strong suggestion that for many of those moving out of Hackney, the chance to become an owner occupier was a major motivating factor.

This suggestion that outward migration is associated with upward mobility is confirmed when labour market mobility is examined.

Table 5.16:
Labour market changes for LSMs, moving out of Hackney 1971-81(LSMs)

1971							
		PNM	SNM	PM	SM	NA	Total
1981	PNM	39	16	14	4	14	87
	SNM	4	50	3	7	42	106
	PM	7	8	72	19	32	138
	SM	7	18	25	63	36	149
	NA	5	40	6	21	164	236
	Total	62	132	120	114	288	716

The primary non-manual group increases significantly in size from 62 to 87, recruiting not merely from the non-active population (ie graduates and school leavers) but also from both secondary non-manual and primary manual groups. It appears that,

for many people, the move out of Hackney is associated with upward occupational mobility. The secondary non-manual group constituted the biggest outmoving group of whom just under a third moved out of employment.

Gender plays an important role in the trends under discussion; a separate analysis showed that of the 40 who left employment, all were women and of the 16 who were upwardly mobile into the primary non-manual category 12 were men. There does seem to be a pattern for outmovers where women leave employment, presumably to enter the domestic economy for childrearing purposes, whilst men are able to improve their occupational status through upward mobility. This is even more exaggerated in the case of upward mobility from primary manual to primary non-manual where 13 out of the 14 are men and *all* the moves into economic inactivity are female. Those who were previously inactive have largely moved into secondary labour market segments if they are female and into primary manual if they are male. Those moving into primary non-manual occupations were equally divided between males and females. The overall pattern points to significant gender trends. Some males in secondary non-manual and primary manual occupations are able to achieve upward labour market mobility whilst women move either into economic inactivity or into the secondary sections of the labour market.

This pattern of 'trading up' therefore appears to be remarkably similar for changes both in labour and housing market behaviour of LSMs moving out of Hackney. Using the combined labour and housing market mobility table (Table 5.16) shows that both occupational and tenure mobility have moved in the same direction, compared to that of those who remained in Hackney where tenure mobility was considerably lower and largely accounted for by the move from private to council accommodation. This suggests that for those moving out of Hackney, the primary effect (and perhaps goal) was a move to owner occupation.

Table 5.17:
Housing and Labour Market mobility 1971-81 for outmovers (%)

		Housing Market			Total %
		+	0	-	
Labour Market	+	14.7	8.8	3.4	26.9
	0	33.0	18.1	3.0	54.1
	-	11.3	6.3	1.4	19.0
Total %		59.0	33.2	7.8	100

In contrast to the within movers, there is a clear pattern of upward mobility for those moving out of Hackney. As table 5.15 showed, much of this was in the direction of owner occupation. Labour market mobility was marked by clear gender patterns which are hidden in the overall trend. Compared to those who stayed in Hackney, amongst the outmovers there was a clear trend towards tenure upgrading and, if gender was controlled for, then there would be a clear upward trend in male occupational mobility since the other clear trend was, for women, a downward one into inactivity or secondary manual labour.

Many of those migrating out of Hackney were therefore able to improve their social position both in occupational and housing terms. Whether this was an unintended function of migration or one of the main motivations for moving cannot be adjudged from the data; what is significant is that social mobility does appear to be a function of spatial migration. We have already seen this to be the case for those moving to the London area and into the labour market (Savage and Fielding 1989), which is the final area for investigation.

Inmovers

'Inmovers' are, by definition, different from the other LSMs, who all shared a common residence in Hackney in 1971. Incomers have moved into Hackney between 1971 and 1981. They have been a relatively small group, nevertheless some interesting patterns emerge about their occupational and tenure characteristics.

Table 5.18:
Labour market changes for in-moving LSMs, 1971 non-residents (LSMs)

		1971					
		PNM	SNM	PM	SM	NA	Total
1981	PNM	23	3	3	4	25	58
	SNM	5	12	1	1	16	35
	PM	1	1	14	12	6	34
	SM	5	4	4	25	21	59
	NA	2	10	2	3	47	64
	Total	36	30	24	45	115	250

This table demonstrates strong upward mobility into primary non-manual and to a lesser extent into secondary manual. As Hamnett and Randolph (1986) find for London as a whole, in-movers are mostly young entrants to the labour market hence the major source of recruitment is economic inactivity which almost exclusively comprises school leavers and those graduating from higher education. Recruitment to the primary non-manual sector has therefore not occurred through occupational mobility but through education, which is in stark contrast to the upward mobility of male outmovers. There is also little gender difference amongst those moving into primary non-manual employment from economic inactivity, 13 men and 10 women. The other area of upward mobility is in the move from secondary to primary manual employment although here all 12 were males. This does suggest that a form of occupational polarization is occurring amongst younger residents.

The housing tenure patterns of in-movers are less clear but, given the above trends, this is hardly surprising.

Table 5.19:
Housing market changes - incomers: 1971 non-residents (LSMs)

		1971				
		OO	LA	RU	RF	Total
1981	OO	23	12	15	13	63
	LA	27	31	27	19	104
	RU	9	10	16	9	44
	RF	20	9	0	4	33
	Total	79	62	58	45	244

Many of the in-movers are coming from the parental home or higher education in terms of their 1971 classification and therefore the decline in owner occupation is less surprising; many may have been resident in the parental owner occupied home in 1971

but have moved into furnished rental accommodation in 1981 whilst completing their studies or in the early stages of a career. Without further information it is hard to identify the cause of the trends except to say that there is far more fluidity both in terms of leakage and recruitment than in other mobility categories. This may also reflect the transitional state of the Hackney housing market in the 1970s before gentrification began with quite high levels of displacement and temporary tenures. The data for in-movers is frustrating in that it indicates that this group differs from other groups, but is unable to tell us much more than that it appears to be more occupationally polarized; in housing tenure terms the pattern is extremely confused, particularly because many of the new LSMs are coming from economic inactivity and the parental home or student digs.

Summary

The data demonstrates that the changes that occurred in Hackney in the 1970s reflect those identified for inner London as a whole (Hamnett and Randolph 1986). The top, and to a lesser degree the bottom, of the labour markets expanded relatively and economic inactivity grew in real terms, whilst the middle sections declined. Housing became increasingly polarized between owner occupation and council rented. There is clear evidence that social mobility is underpinned by migration and mediated by gender differences. There were significant differences for the in-mover category where there is some evidence of greater gender equality at the top end of the labour market.

Those who moved out of Hackney managed to 'upgrade' themselves both occupationally and tenurially; there were significant rates of movement from both routine non-manual occupations and skilled manual into professional, managerial and administrative SEGs. This mirrored a move into owner occupation. Many women moved out of economic activity and, presumably, into the domestic economy and childcare activities. The data show very clearly that upward occupational mobility was widespread and almost exclusively male. Those women who remained economically active were concentrated in the two secondary sectors. Generally, the propensity to move out of Hackney was related to the LSM's position in the labour market, so the

more advantaged tended to leave in greater proportions with the strong suggestion that they did so to improve their 'quality of life'. For those already in the primary non-manual sector, this would confirm the tendency, identified by Savage (1988) and Fielding (1989), for members of the service-class to leave the London area having moved into in the first place to establish their careers. For others, it is suggested that men who were not in the service-class were able to join it by moving out of inner London. It would appear that females either did not work or else worked in the secondary sectors.

By contrast, all groups of in-movers, it seems, did so largely from school and higher education which makes it difficult to say much about their housing trajectories. Occupationally they tended to move into the higher and lower ends of the labour market (including unemployment). The out-movers showed a degree of gender polarization which is not the case for in-movers where the division is between the primary non-manual group and the secondary manual sector and economic inactivity. It appears therefore that those entering the labour market do so at the extremes. Those who are in the primary non-manual category may often move into furnished privately rented accommodation which is consistent with a move from higher education and then move into owner occupation in the inner city or out in the suburbs.

Conclusions

It is difficult to draw clear conclusions from these data but there is some evidence that those who could leave Hackney in the 1970s did so and, on the whole, 'improved' themselves. Those who remained, and who were not in the primary non-manual sector, were more likely to experience downward mobility particularly to secondary non-manual occupations. Almost all of those who moved into primary non-manual occupations were young people coming from school or university. This is consistent with other research except that the degree of occupational polarization, especially amongst entrants to the labour market, seems even greater in Hackney than elsewhere. Of those who left Hackney, men were occupationally upwardly mobile whilst women moved into economic

inactivity or into secondary jobs. This is suggestive of a pattern of male-dominated single-earner households in contrast to the pattern suggested for in-movers, who are possibly less likely to have formed families. Migration appears to have been associated with patterns of upward mobility in occupational status and housing tenures, with a very strong suggestion that it was the same individuals who were upwardly mobile on both counts.

Of those who remained, a very significant number moved out of the private rented sector into the council rented sector, and given recent stigmatization and lack of resources, it is difficult to regard this as more than a 'sideways' move. A small, but potentially significant group of gentrifiers, were moving out of private furnished accommodation into owner occupation.

What is particularly striking and demonstrates the power of the LS data is that the primary non-manual class largely replaced itself with one of the highest degrees of 'out' and 'in' migration, which reinforces the impression of Hackney as a 'forcing ground' for service-class aspirants moving to London from higher education (Hamnett 1990b).

The LS data presented here does provide some confirmation about an inward migration of service class residents into Hackney but within the context of an overall decline in owner occupation in absolute terms. It also lends support to the argument that gender is an important variable in mediating occupational and residential mobility. This background provides the basis for the following chapters which, having identified a group of service-class incomers, present survey and interview data to answer some of these questions about who they are and why they are attracted to living in Hackney.

¹ It has been questioned whether 'polarization' is the best way to describe this process since this tends to ignore the continued presence in the city of both the upper class and the working class (Marcuse 1989b; Hamnett 1990).

²It is probably fallacious to regard economic restructuring as causal in relation to social change, although clearly the two are strongly associated (Martin 1988).

³Those arguing for this position also point to the need to broaden the terms by which social inequality is measured from those based narrowly around production to include those of consumption (refs: Pahl, Saunders).

⁴Buck et al (1986: 60) note six main reasons: 1) proximity to consumer markets for craft production; 2) the size of mass consumer good markets and the need to minimize transport costs; 3) demands created by central London's service sector for certain industries eg printing and publishing, office furniture; 4) the longstanding existence of craft industries and a pool of skilled manual and technical labour; 5) the proximity of the Port of London for processing imported goods; 6) the concentration of head offices of diversified firms causing some production to be geographically co-located.

⁵This is basically a realist approach to the problem.

⁶The GLC analysis of the furniture and clothing trades that were dominant employers in Hackney show that its decline arises from lack of investment and design in the context of a changed market. The clothing market has survived through increased use of sweated labour, particularly that of ethnic minority women. The furniture industry on the other hand has generally disappeared. Neither has suffered for reasons directly connected with their location in London.

⁷ “ *The OPCS Longitudinal Study is a set of records of various events held by OPCS relating to 1% of the population of England and Wales (about 500,000 people). These can be linked in a variety of ways for analysis. Initially, all people born on each of four dates each year were selected from information given in the 1971 Census. From 1971, as new births occur on these four dates each year and as immigrants with these birth dates register with the NHS, these people join the LS. Another sample of all those giving the selected birth dates was taken from the 1981 Census and their Census records were incorporated into the LS. Thus the LS represents a continuous sample of the population of England and Wales, rather than a sample taken at one time point only. Census information is included for all people living in the same household as the LS member*” (OPCS 1989: 2)

⁸Economically active and in employment:

- 1) Primary non-manual; managerial, professional/intermediate non-manual workers (SEGs 1-5, 13)
 - 2) Secondary non-manual; junior non-manual workers (SEG 6)
 - 3) Primary manual; skilled manual and the non-professional self-employed (SEGs 8,9,12,14)
 - 4) Secondary manual; semi- and unskilled manual and service workers (SEGs 7,10,11,15,16).
- Economically inactive:
- 5) Unemployed and Temporarily sick;
 - 6) Retired and permanently sick;
 - 7) Housewife or otherwise economically inactive;
 - 8) Student;
 - 9) Under 15 in 1971 or 16 in 1981.

⁹OO owner occupation; CR council rented; RU private rented (unfurnished); RF private rented (furnished); NA other tenures.

¹⁰The LS data will show that the inflows and outflows of population are far greater than this; this refers to the net loss of population.

¹¹It has been suggested that the residential density caused by gentrification is halved, those coming in occupying approximately twice as much space as those displaced.

¹²It is extremely frustrating that the data are not available from the 1991 Census which would cover the period 1981-91, which is when the major changes have probably occurred.

¹³See footnote 8

¹⁴There are problems with the classification, notably the inclusion of the unskilled manual and non-manual workers in the same category but this is, it is argued, compensated for by the manner in which it enables an analysis of primary and secondary occupations to be done. Too often it is assumed that non-manual jobs are not unskilled. Thus we can test the extent to which deindustrialization has resulted in a polarization between skilled and non-skilled non-manual workers. (Hamnett and Randolph 1986).

¹⁵These tables do not look at those who have moved into Hackney over the period.

¹⁶It does not make any sense to examine the mobility patterns in housing tenure of non movers; what movement has occurred has been largely a result of sitting tenants buying their property or else the council replacing private landlords.

¹⁷The table depends on a major assumption, which is that there is a hierarchy in both housing and labour markets in ascending order from RF to RU to LA to OO which is assumed to be the most desirable; the labour market hierarchy is assumed to rise from SM to PM to SNM to PNM. In fact, as Forest and Kemeny (1982) demonstrate many young service class persons move straight from RF to OO; this does not invalidate the table since this would still be scored as an upward move. A far greater problem involves the stigmatization of the council sector over recent years particularly in inner London.

CHAPTER SIX:

DE BEAUVOIR TOWN AND NORTH DEFOE

Introduction

The four chapters which follow investigate spatial differences within the service-class by examining the gentrification process in two different areas of Hackney. It is the intention to show that not only are there differences within the service-class but that these are, in part at least, the outcome of choices about where to live which, to some extent, 'cut across' more traditional differences, such as those of occupation.

This chapter presents the survey methodology used to investigate this thesis. It also introduces and describes the areas in which the survey was undertaken. Chapter seven investigates the socio-economic data produced by the survey and ways in which the social and economic position of respondents can be distinguished from the service-class as a whole. Chapters eight and nine concentrate on the normative aspects of the data and respondents' values and attitudes. This draws heavily on a small number of in-depth follow-up interviews which were conducted after the main bulk of the survey interviews had been completed. In this manner it is hoped to 'triangulate' the problem of the new urban middle-class through a range of different research methods - the official statistics referred to in the previous chapter, the survey data reported on in the next chapter and the 'qualitative' interview data that is presented in chapters eight and nine. This also relates to the argument advanced in chapters two, three and four that the urban service-class needs to be understood at the level both of structure and of consciousness.

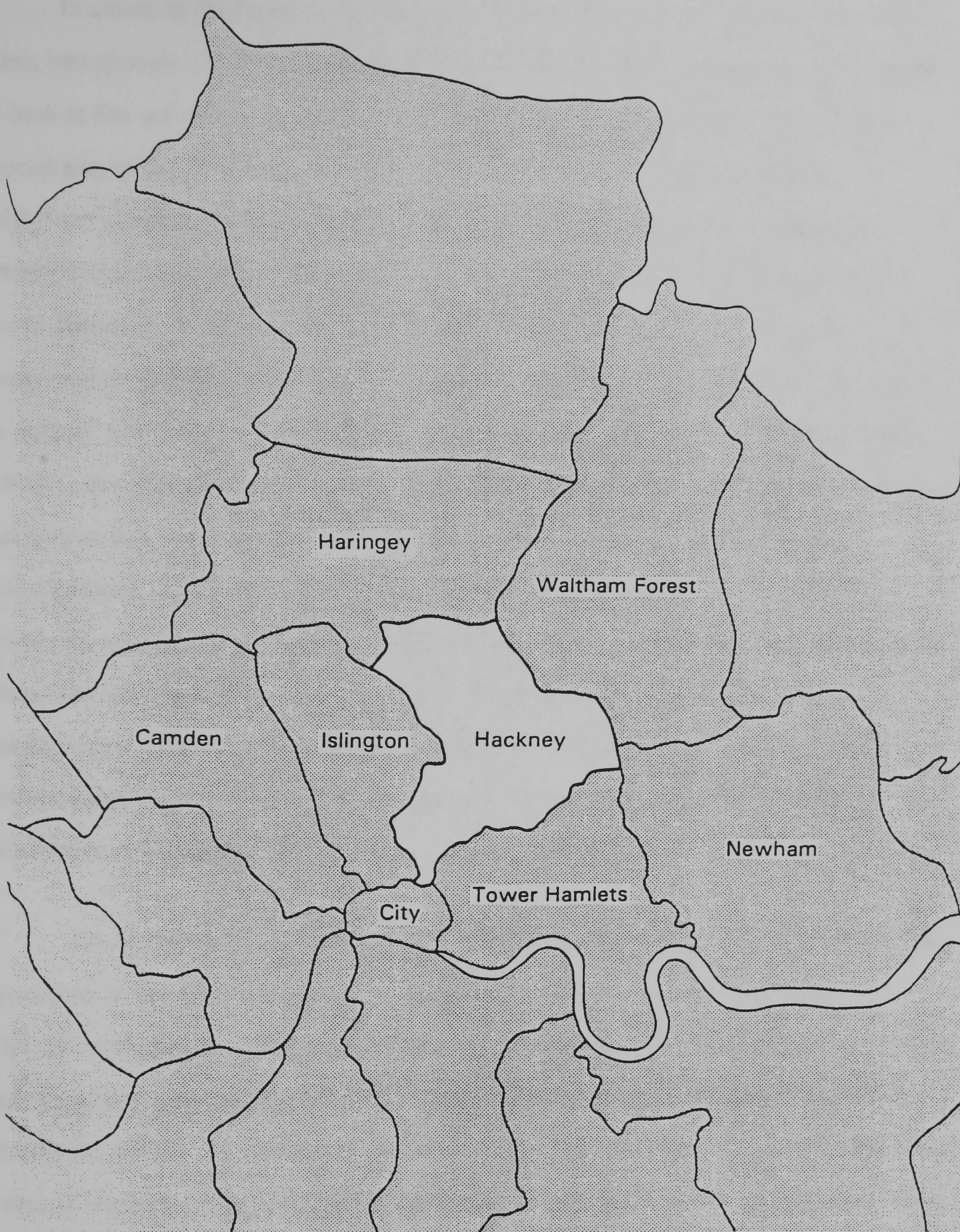
The assumption that significant differences might be expected to emerge between service-class members settling in different areas of an inner-city, implied a methodology for the study. The field of study had already been defined as the London Borough of Hackney. Hackney, in the words of the estate agents, had begun to 'happen' but, as ever, gentrification was an uneven process. In chapter one I proposed that the image of the gentle and socially-concerned 'marginal gentrifier' (Rose 1984) was, by the mid

1980s, beginning to be replaced by the altogether more avaricious stereotype of the 'yuppy'. It was also apparent that this was happening at a different rate and in different ways in various parts of the borough.

Gentrification in North London has spread in a northeasterly arc across London from Camden (Map 2). It spread into the south end of Hackney from Islington in the early 1980s and, by the end of the decade, had spread upto the Kingsland Road. There was another slower, and less distinct, move from the City and Docklands in the southeast towards Victoria Park and London Fields which again converged on the south end of Kingsland Road by the late 1980s.

Chronological time is one way of explaining how people came to choose where to live; by the mid-1980s there were more service-class people living in more of Hackney and constituting a greater proportion of the population than a decade earlier. It might therefore be argued that choices about where to live depended on what stage buyers came to the market and with what resources; generally those who bought later and/or had less resources would be located further out from the centre. Given that the central assumption of the thesis has been that the service-class is an essentially fragmented class and that residential location reflects different intra-class locations, it was important to be able to compare residential locations holding time constant. In other words, I wanted to look at *why* people chose to buy where they did. Whilst money might have been an obvious constraining factor, it was not to be assumed that it would be the determining one.

Ideally, this implied investigating a number of different areas but time and resources prevented this and, anyway, the advantages would have been outweighed by the disadvantages of small sample size and an increase in the number of possible explanatory variables. It was therefore decided at an early stage to restrict the number of areas to two but to maximize within them the number of respondents interviewed.



Map 2: North and North East London Boroughs

In choosing the areas, a number of theoretical and practical considerations were taken into account. Given the importance of the area in deciding where to live, I needed to look at this not only in terms of its attractions to potential residents but also in the 'socializing effect' it had on people once they were there. This is not a simple 'either/or' question, as there could be three major outcomes. Firstly, people were attracted to an area because of the meanings and values it held for them which they found attractive. Secondly, they might have moved to an area for financial or geographical reasons (notably travel-to-work) but, once they had lived there, they came to identify with the values and meanings associated with an area and so remained there. Thirdly, they may have been vaguely attracted to the values and meanings the area held but were primarily driven by material constraints such as price and travel to work considerations; when however, their material circumstances might have permitted a move, the area proved sufficiently attractive for them to remain there rather than moving elsewhere either within or outside London. There are two separate theoretical considerations here. Firstly, the notion that a given geographical area can hold values and meanings, and secondly whether a given locality has a causal effect on social processes or individual action.

The first of these borrows heavily from the concept of a 'natural area' which was developed by the Chicago School. This assumes that a given area, in the case of Chicago in the interwar period a city block, is not only a geographical area but also one that seems to have a socially integrative function for its inhabitants (Park, Burgess & Mackenzie 1925). For those working within this perspective, this was usually studied in terms of what we would now term deviant groups, such as the hobos or the juvenile gang who often took their name from the physical area and, in turn, gave the physical locality its meaning. The second consideration concerns the debate about 'locality effects'.

Locality effects

Locality ('local uniqueness') clearly matters; but, at the same time, there is a danger that the 'space matters' approach has given 'space' in general and 'locality' in

particular too much explanatory independence and 'causal power' (see Duncan and Savage 1989 and for a response Cooke 1989b). There can be little dispute that change in the organization of the 'space economy' and the place of localities within it has been one of the main manifestations of economic 'restructuring' (Martin 1988; Pinch 1989) but that is not the same thing as granting causal powers to local difference:

"There has now been a thorough going debate on space vis-a-vis social process. The debate amongst other things has shown that : a) spatial variation is not the same as, or an index for, the concrete b) spatial variation is not the same as, or an index for, agency c) spatial variation in itself does not cause change but how this works and with what effect will be spatially variant" (Duncan and Savage 1989: 203)

The nature of the relationship between spatial and social characteristics is causally problematic. Duncan's (1986) discussion of what is meant by a 'locality effect' is helpful in this context. What though does the term 'locality effect' mean ? Duncan is highly critical of the loose way in which local or locality is now used.

"'Locality' has suddenly emerged as one of the more popular ideas in social science, especially in sociology, geography, urban and regional studies and political science. But it is an infuriating idea. It is one that seems to signify something important and indeed most people seem to know - roughly - what it signifies for them. Yet few would care to explain what 'locality' (or is it 'a locality' or even 'the locality') actually is. Even fewer, I suspect, would agree on the result even if there was one." (Duncan 1986: 1)

Duncan is right; like the concept 'community' in a previous era in sociology, 'locality' is something that we all 'know what we mean by' when we refer to it (ie nobody has a clear idea). Like community, it is a normatively desirable concept in that locality is much more attractive than such anonymous national collectivities as class (Urry 1982). Duncan wonders whether locality is actually much more than a synonym for 'case study area' (Duncan 1986: 4). In somewhat more serious vein he suggests that it has two roles; first, to suggest a link between general phenomena and specific events and second, to refer directly to case study material¹.

"Space itself does not exist: rather things create spatial relations between themselves. The existence and interaction of social and natural institutions will therefore take spatial forms. However, space is not an object and has no

independent effects. Because space does not exist in absolute terms it is senseless to talk about 'it' being divided, polarized, homogenized or whatever. The same problem arises whenever a noun which is defined spatially is used. Thus a 'locality' or a 'region', unless they can be shown to have a social content, cannot be said to exist" (Duncan and Savage 1989: 181)

The crucial question is whether local variations constitute anything more than observed difference. Does the significance lie in the spatial unit which constitutes an area or is social causation observed in a given area ?

"It is social objects which interact, not the spatial patterns they form, and presumably this stands as much for localities as for regions or for centre and periphery. 'Space' or 'the spatial' is also an appealing common-sense or shorthand way of signifying what we might otherwise have to call 'the contingent effect of the uneven development process' "(Duncan and Savage 1989: 17)

This leads Duncan into a consideration of the theoretical status of spatial relations. He is broadly sympathetic to the position adopted by Sayer (1982; 1985) which sees space as a contingent relation which is of importance when conducting concrete (as opposed to abstract) research².

"The trouble is, however, 'locality' as currently used implies much more than the effects of spatial contingency; it implies the existence of some autonomous, locally derived causal effect, if we mean spatial contingency, or simply spatial variation, we should say so. For example, the processes of de-industrialization vary over Britain and, in particular labour market areas, this significantly varies with gender role definitions. There is no need to mystify, and to introduce unexamined and quite possibly false ideas of local autonomy by using the term 'locality'" (Duncan 1986: 26)

The issue of locality is essentially, according to Duncan, one of agency and structure. There is often, he suggests, an assumption that *people act* at the local level but that *structures determine* at the national or global level. In his view, however:

"It is people, acting individually or in collective situations, that carry out social acts and so respond to and reproduce structures through their agency" (Duncan 1986: 28)

He draws a distinction between 'contingent local variations' and 'causal local processes'. The former 'merely' refers to the '*contingent effects of spatial patterns; the latter to the local specificity of generative social relations*' (ibid: 29). Just because there are local variations, he cautions, we should not assume that there are 'locality effects'.

Taking the position proposed by Duncan (1986) as their starting point, Savage, Duncan et al (1987) attempt to produce a procedure for measuring the effect of locality on a given process. They suggest three distinct levels of locality:

- i) 'contingent local variation';
- ii) 'causal local processes'; and,
- iii) 'locality effects'.

According to Savage, Duncan et al 'contingent local variation', is produced by spatial contingency effects:

"Space is created by natural and social structures and it is these that have causal powers; whether and how these causal powers are realized in practice depends on the contingent relations that surround them"(Savage et al 1987: 30)

In other words, space is pervasive but largely passive: local differences may be important but they arise from factors already present, which would suggest that space has little causal independence. The second level they define as 'causal local processes':

"Some social entities are, however, constituted locally by the combined effects of a number of other social entities. The local labour market is a prime example of this"(Savage et al 1987: 31)

Once local labour markets have been constituted, for example, they take on a character of their own as a result of local factors such as forms of gender relations or local political alignments. These have their own causal powers which may lead to local variations. Massey's (1984) definition of a spatial division of labour can be seen in these terms.

The third level, the 'locality effect', is more specific and arises out of the combination of a number of causal local processes which will create unique phenomena. A 'locality effect' is an emergent property; it has properties that are quite distinct from those that make it up - in the same way that a chemical compound is distinct from its constituent elements. A local labour market can produce certain effects, which are probably replicated in a number of different places. However if this interacts with another local process, such as a local housing market, then this can, under the right

circumstances, be seen as a locality effect: Lockwood's (1966) concept of 'occupational communities' could be considered under this classification. There are no a priori reasons as to why local housing and labour markets should combine in this manner and normally they operate independently and have no additional locality effect. Savage et al (1987) argue that 'local cultures' should be seen as 'locality effects'³.

Using this rather strict interpretation of what is meant by a locality effect, then much of the work on locality that has come out of the various locality studies, for example those sponsored by the ESRC under the CURS initiative (Cooke 1989), has failed (despite the claims of many of the authors) to have demonstrated any significant 'locality effect'⁴. These studies rather have pointed to there being powerful 'causal local processes' or 'local contingencies' (see Cooke 1989a).

In relation to my proposed survey of gentrified Hackney, the procedure proposed by Savage and Duncan (1987) was extremely helpful in developing the survey methodology. The 'strongest' of the alternative choices posed in the previous section would be the last, where a given area effect would be seen to have a causal impact on social consciousness arising out of the unique interaction of factors specific to the area. For example, it might (hypothetically) be suggested that there was a unique effect created by the interaction of labour and housing markets in gentrifying districts of Hackney which might be responsible for the emergence of (for example) 'postmodern' cultural values amongst those living in the locality⁵. The 'weaker' versions one and two outlined above would suggest that certain values might be identified with specific areas of gentrified Hackney which would be attractive to a given group of residents who, in moving there, would then reinforce those values and, at the same time, be 'sustained' by them. There would however, in this case, be no causal imperative; rather such people merely came together in parts of Hackney because they felt it was where 'people like them' lived. There is however a causal link in that it influences people to remain in the area. The question of 'locality' and whether it can have an 'effect' is therefore a crucial element to the argument in the thesis and the survey methodology. It is therefore

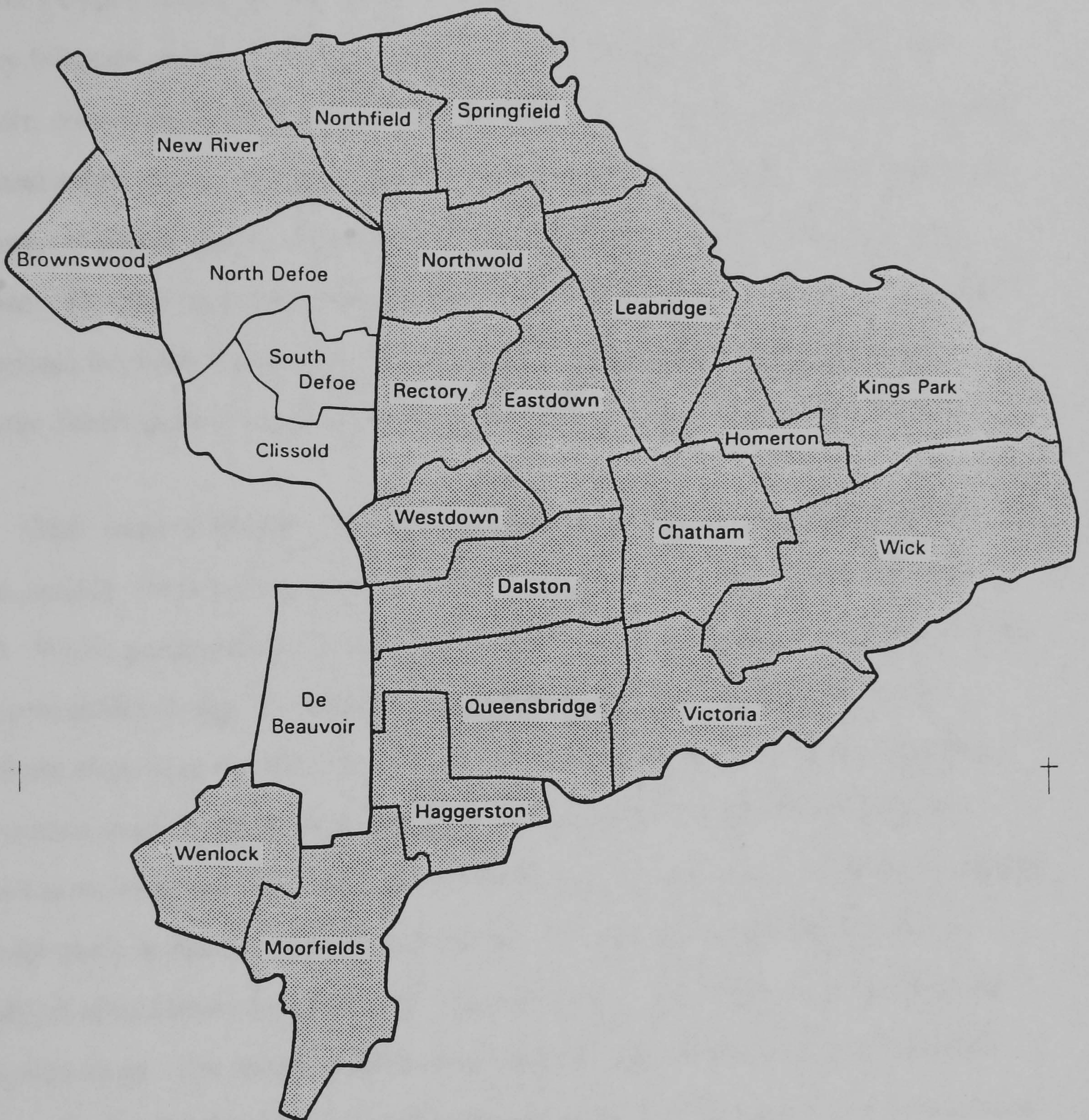
important to be clear about what is meant by a 'locality effect' both theoretically and methodologically.

Survey Methodology

In selecting criteria for which areas to choose, I aimed to relate these theoretical issues concerning space and locality to the images of gentrification discussed in chapter four. Style and taste, particularly as it reflected the architectural style of the houses and 'ambience' of the area, were important. Also the extent to which the area could be seen to have a history for those with this particular type of taste and discernment to discover, restore and display was an important 'inclusion criterion'. More specifically, I was looking for areas which had a high proportion of inhabitants with degrees since research into gentrification in New York City has shown that this is the single most consistent indicator of a gentrification process getting underway (Marcuse 1986). This was also important because of the stress placed on the experience of higher education both for new entrants to the service-class and for existing members. Additionally, I looked for a decline between 1971 and 1981 of private rented housing and an increase in owner occupation. Finally, I took into account the proportion of inhabitants who were in the service-class which was defined as the Registrar General's occupational classifications 1 and 2.

It fairly rapidly became clear that two areas in Hackney which fitted these criteria were De Beauvoir Town and Stoke Newington (Map 3). Both areas were geographically self-contained, had a history that was easily 'rediscovered' and a fairly discernible 'image'. Both had distinctive and distinct architectural styles and street layouts and were subject to considerable 'hype' in the mid-1980s at the hands of local estate agents and the property press.

De Beauvoir Town had always been the poor retreat for those who could not afford Islington prices and rates, whilst retaining the N1 postcode⁶ (Wright 1985a). More recently it has become the 'stamping ground' of young people making their way in



Map 3: The London Borough of Hackney, showing ward boundaries

the City. The streets are wide, the houses low and spacious, generally set in their own large gardens. There are relatively few shops and public spaces, especially green ones.

Stoke Newington, on the other hand, is still associated with 'alternative' values and also increasingly with the 'media trendies' who might once have been attracted to Islington's Upper Street but now favour Church Street and, in part at least, were forced there by Islington prices. The area is physically and stylistically in contrast to De Beauvoir, consisting of tall 'North London' style terraced houses but it also has far more shops and public spaces, notably parks. To some extent De Beauvoir can be seen as an elegant set of private spaces with little public face whilst Stoke Newington is more crowded with shops and communal spaces. This contrast is reflected in the estate agents' promotional literature which stresses ordered calm and elegance in the case of De Beauvoir *Town* but the friendly conviviality and bustle of Stoke Newington *village*.

Other areas of Hackney have been undergoing similar rapid upgrading in the 1980s, notably Victoria Park, London Fields and to a lesser extent Dalston (Wright 1991). Whilst geographically and no doubt socially distinct 'natural areas', none had the same containable 'image' as De Beauvoir or Stoke Newington which I held to be a significant element to the process of class formation. There is a danger that by using such criteria to select the areas, the study would merely prove what it had already defined as the problem. Nevertheless, I believed that the strategy of selecting contrasting areas for study in this manner would permit me to investigate some of those issues already identified about the process of 'class formation' within an 'urban fragment' of the service-class. The census statistics (see Table 6.1 below) show that this was not a process of cultural self-selection but that these were areas with a significant service class population.

It was decided that the best way to investigate this was to interview people who had bought property in the 1980s in the chosen survey areas. Given prevailing employment patterns and property prices, most house purchasers in the 1980s in my selected areas would be members of the service-class. The major problem was how to

draw up a sampling frame of possible respondents. A possible source would have been the rating lists kept by the local authority which identifies individual dwellings and their rateable value but does not give details of ownership or ownership change. The council was unwilling to make this data available to me for reasons of confidentiality. Similar considerations applied to the Land Registry data which would have been an ideal source since it records ownership details. I was therefore left with little alternative but the electoral roll.

There are unfortunately a number of serious limitations about using the electoral roll for this purpose. It does not indicate who owns the property or indeed give any information about tenure and so it is not possible to find out those who have moved except by comparing the roll for two time periods. The other major drawback is that it is not accurate in that either people who have moved out are not removed or those who have moved in are not added. Hackney does not employ people to check individual entries and to follow up non-responses⁷. No check was made either on those who had left or those who came in. Although the poll tax had not yet been implemented, it was very much in the news and this could have been an added incentive not to complete a return. Despite these shortcomings, it was the best source available and I decided to compare the registers for 1981 and 1988 and contact those on the 1988 register who had not been listed at that address for 1981.

My next problem was to select two survey areas, one in Stoke Newington and one in De Beauvoir. The problem is that, despite the rhetoric of the OPCS about Census areas reflecting natural boundaries, they rarely do - at least at in the inner-city. Enumeration districts (EDs) do largely reflect such natural boundaries but ward boundaries are fixed by local authorities, often on political grounds. The 1981 Census was therefore of only limited help for this purpose. In 1981 the process of gentrification in Hackney was only just beginning; at best, it could only hope to be indicative of future trends. The other problem is that most wards in Hackney are either uniformly deprived or else contain small pockets of relative affluence juxtaposed with deprivation. These latter areas were the ones in which I was interested. They were marked by a sharp

polarization in housing tenures, with for example multi-occupation, owner occupation and council blocks often mixed together in a single street. There were relatively few areas of uninterrupted owner occupation, even in De Beauvoir ‘Old Town’ and certainly nowhere in Stoke Newington. This meant that Census statistics could only be indicative of change. For De Beauvoir this, as it turns out, was not a serious problem as one ward covered the ‘natural area’ and there was the clear distinction between the ‘New Town’ which was a 1970s council redevelopment and the Old Town which was mainly, though by no means exclusively, owner occupied. Stoke Newington is much less geographically cohesive than De Beauvoir and is part of three wards, depending on how it is defined⁸. I therefore considered a number of wards which were suitable for drawing up a sampling frame. Three main wards converge around Church Street: North Defoe, South Defoe and Clissold (see map). North and South Defoe were created out of one ward (Defoe) between 1971 and 1981.

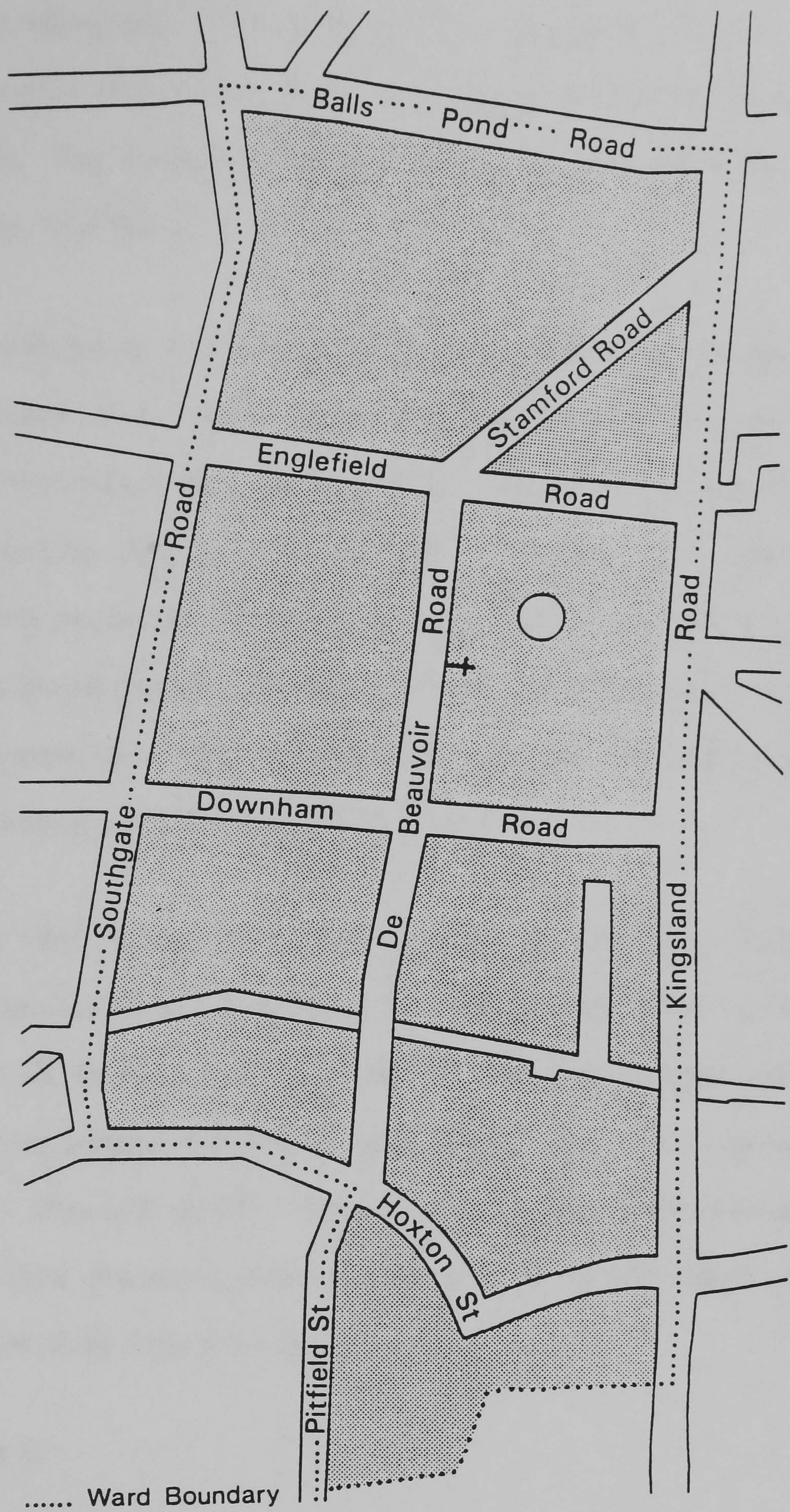
Table 6.1 summarizes some key statistics about the three Stoke Newington wards and the single De Beauvoir ward.

Table 6.1:
The demography of the potential survey wards

	Clissold %	North Defoe %	South Defoe %	De Beauvoir %
Population loss 1971-81	25	34	24	16
University degree	7	9	8	7
Council housing	45	31	39	67
Owner occupied	26	38	27	13
Private rented	23	25	19	16
Social class 1	2	2	0.6	3
Social class 2	14	15	12	14
Car ownership	37	43	36	38

De Beauvoir (Map 4)

In 1981, 67% of the population in De Beauvoir ward lived in council property which was approximately the average for the borough; 16% was privately rented and 13% owner occupied. At face value this would not seem very propitious for studying a gentrification process, as only one third of the housing stock was available for improvement. The comparatively low percentage (16%) in private rental would also suggest that there was relatively little potential for transfer to owner occupation. De



Map 4: De Beauvoir ward, showing the main thoroughfares

Beauvoir though is somewhat exceptional in the manner in which the council property and the rest are spatially segregated. The majority of the council property is concentrated in De Beauvoir 'New Town', which is an area that was comprehensively redeveloped in the 1970s. The remaining tenures and some isolated council blocks are therefore restricted to the 'Old Town'.

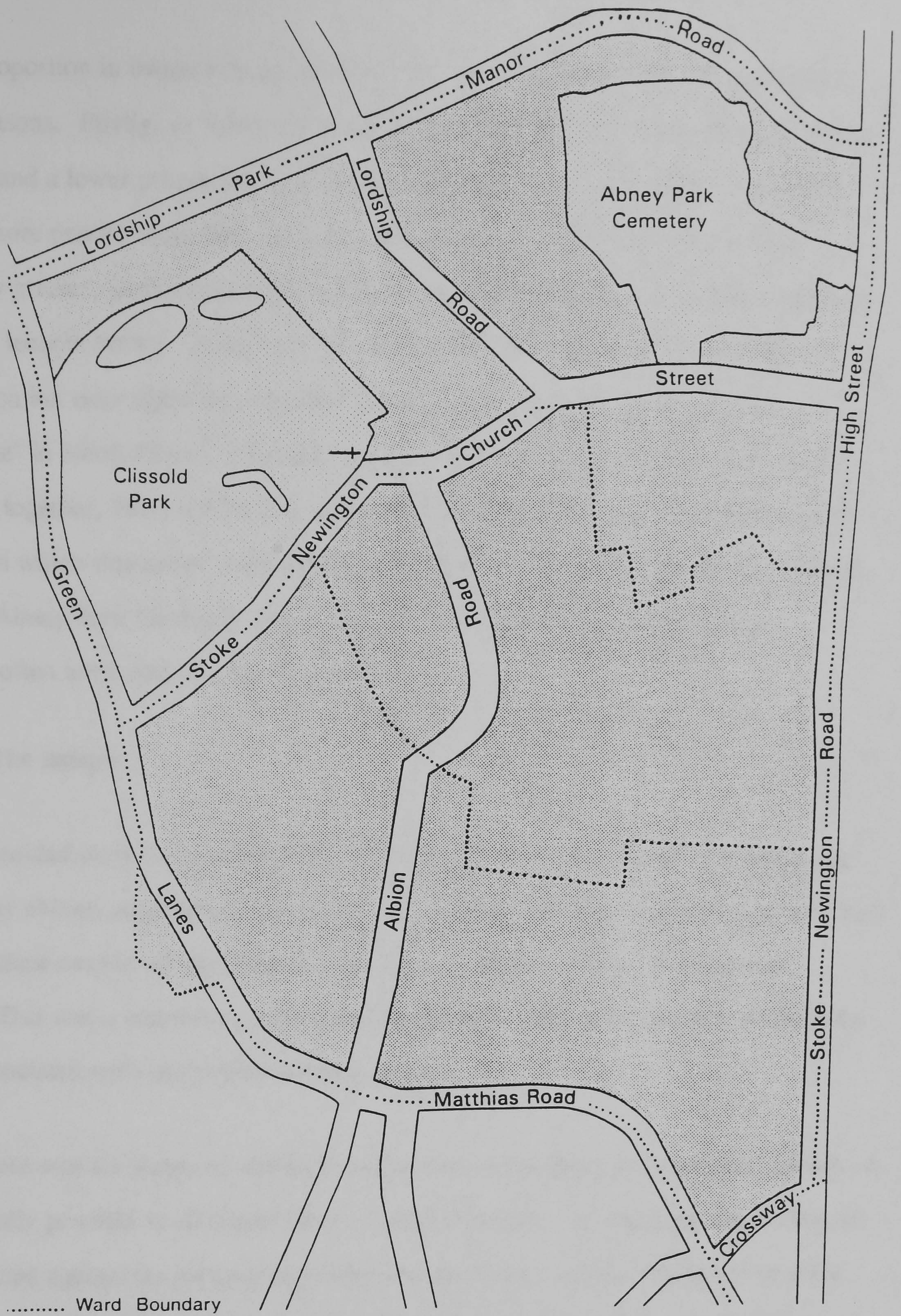
The research was therefore confined to the Old Town where the housing mix was more heavily skewed towards owner occupation, private rental and housing associations. It was relatively simple to eliminate the council properties from the sampling frame as council properties tend to have fairly distinctive names⁹. A considerable proportion of the private rented property was part of the Benyon Estate, a family trust which had originally developed the area in the mid nineteenth century, and still owned a large number of flats and maisonnettes in the area. The estate had been pursuing a policy in recent years of selling properties as they became vacant¹⁰.

According to the 1981 Census, 3.4% of the residents of working age were in the Registrar General's social class 1, which was the highest percentage of any ward in the borough and another 13.8% in social class 2, giving a service-class population of just over 17%. Just over seven percent of residents had a degree, again one of the highest figures for the borough. This data together with the visual evidence and estate agents' accounts confirmed the view that service-class people had been moving into De Beauvoir and had been doing so for some time previously.

Stoke Newington (Map 5)

Stoke Newington is, geographically, a less clearly delineated area than De Beauvoir; it is constituted by at least three different wards, whose profile is summarised in the ward statistics in Table 6.1.

The three wards making up Stoke Newington all tell the same basic story, that of a socially-mixed area subject to an increasing service-class immigration. Compared to the borough as a whole, the proportion of council-owned housing is significantly lower



Map 5: Stoke Newington wards (Clissold, South Defoe and North Defoe), showing the main thoroughfares

and the proportion in owner-occupation is higher. I finally selected North Defoe for several reasons. Firstly, as Table 6.1 demonstrates, it had a higher proportion of owner occupiers and a lower proportion of council tenants than either Clissold or South Defoe and also more private tenancies. Its 'potential' for gentrification therefore seemed marginally greater, particularly when compared to Clissold which had a high proportion of council tenants (45%). Both Clissold and North Defoe had a similar social class composition but once again this, together with car ownership, was slightly more 'favourable' in North Defoe. Thus taking the housing tenure structure and the social indicators together, North Defoe emerged as the most suitable. This was reinforced by its location which was rather more centred on Stoke Newington Church Street, Clissold Park and Abney Park Cemetery which are key features of the so-called 'villagey' ambience often attributed to Stoke Newington.

Drawing the sample

I decided early on to confront the problem of representativeness by selecting *all* those in my chosen geographical area who were apparently owner occupiers and who had moved to their current address between 1981 and 1988 according to the electoral register. This was a laborious process and immediately presented a number of problems mainly associated with identifying housing tenure.

There was no means of telling from the electoral register the occupiers' tenure. It was generally possible to eliminate those in council property by checking the address of those selected against the part of the rating lists which are publicly available and show where the council paid the rates on a given property. This still left the problem of private rentals¹¹, lodgers and housing associations. Where there were several different surnames in a household in 1981 and 1988, I checked them against an intermediate year and eliminated them if the names were different in that year on the grounds that this was a multiple-occupation private rental¹². I also carried out a visual survey and was generally able to eliminate those properties which, from their appearance, were not

obviously gentrified¹³. I nevertheless erred on the side of caution and probably included quite a number of properties which were rented or owned by housing associations.

All those selected were entered into a database and were written a personalized letter on headed notepaper explaining the research and asking for their participation. They were provided with a Freepost card to return indicating their willingness to participate, a telephone number with a telephone answering machine was also given and several respondents phoned in their acceptance. Approximately three weeks later a second reminder letter was sent off once again with a reply-paid card. This increased the response rate by approximately one third. Copies of both the initial and reminder letter are attached at Appendix 1.

Although I had intended to take systematically the first name from each household, it subsequently appears as shown in Table 6.2 that I selected about 50% more males than females. This was a matter of some regret, as I had not intended to suggest that males necessarily constitute the Head of Household. Nevertheless, in several cases where a female had been selected, the male responded to my initial letter and the interview was carried out with him. I do not know to what extent this reflects prevailing patriarchal values or how much it is a reflection on the fear and insecurity felt by women living in an area like Hackney to welcome an unknown researcher into their home. What perhaps is most interesting is that the gender balance of those I interviewed was almost equal, thus implying a higher response rate amongst women.

A number of those I selected were undoubtedly not owner occupiers but the letter they were sent indicated that I was only concerned with owner occupiers and this was stressed more explicitly in the follow up letter, so an unknown but probably significant percentage may have excluded themselves. Table 6.2 indicates the characteristics of the survey population.

Table 6.2:
Characteristics of survey population

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Both	
Number selected males	288		268		556	
females	125		151		276	
All	413		419		832	
Response	141	34%	134	32%	275	33%
Interviewed - male	74		59		133	
- female	53		59		112	
Total interviewed	127		118		245	

The overall response rate was 33%; although this was disappointing and must be entered as a major caveat with respect to the representativeness of the results, it is not out of line with similar surveys (eg Saunders 1990). As I have already indicated, there are grounds for concern about the accuracy of the electoral register especially in inner city areas where those leaving are not being deleted and those entering are not being registered.

Interviewing procedure

All those who indicated their willingness to be interviewed were contacted and a suitable time and date arranged for me to interview them. This was usually in the evening at their home, although quite a few respondents, especially in De Beauvoir, expressed a preference for a daytime interview in their office. The interview lasted approximately an hour and was based around a precoded questionnaire which I completed. A copy of the questionnaire is attached at Appendix 2. The questionnaire was extensively pre-tested and piloted and modified as a result of this. At the end of the interview a number of open ended questions about the quality of life, future life plans and so on were asked. The interviews were carried out in the first eight months of 1988 and were all done by myself; generally those in De Beauvoir took place in February to May and those in North Defoe between June and August.

When the interviews had been completed, I did a preliminary analysis of the results and wrote this into a short report which I sent to all those whom I had interviewed at the end of 1988. Accompanying this report was a request for permission to do a follow up interview that would be less structured and would concentrate on

general issues about why they had chosen to live in their current area and also on their general socio-political orientations. There was a very positive response to this and material from these interviews which were carried out in the spring and summer of 1989 is mainly discussed in chapter seven and eight.

In the analysis that follows in chapters seven, eight and nine, I have highlighted the key theoretical issues and discussed them in relation to the data from the survey and the unstructured interviews. Chapter seven is concerned with presenting a picture of the social, economic and educational background of respondents which is then compared to data for the service-class as a whole in order to identify differences which might be used to distinguish an inner London fraction within it. This is followed by a consideration of occupational, financial and household differences to see again if there are significant differences that might explain any spatial differentiation within the service-class. Chapters eight and nine, which draw upon the interview data as well as that from the survey, attempt to explain why respondents live where they do and how that reflects in their attitudes and values. Chapter eight looks at a number of areas, including the importance of the house and how it looks, culture and leisure time activities. Chapter nine considers 'feelings' about the area and local services and also, finally, political attitudes. Some 'modelling' of the cause of these differences is undertaken in chapter nine in order to indicate the relative importance of locality in explaining sources of fragmentation amongst the inner London service-class.

Before moving on to the data from the survey, it is probably helpful to provide a short description of each of the survey areas, particularly since the physical and social ambience is an important element in how many respondents reached their decision to move into, and often settle in, the two locations.

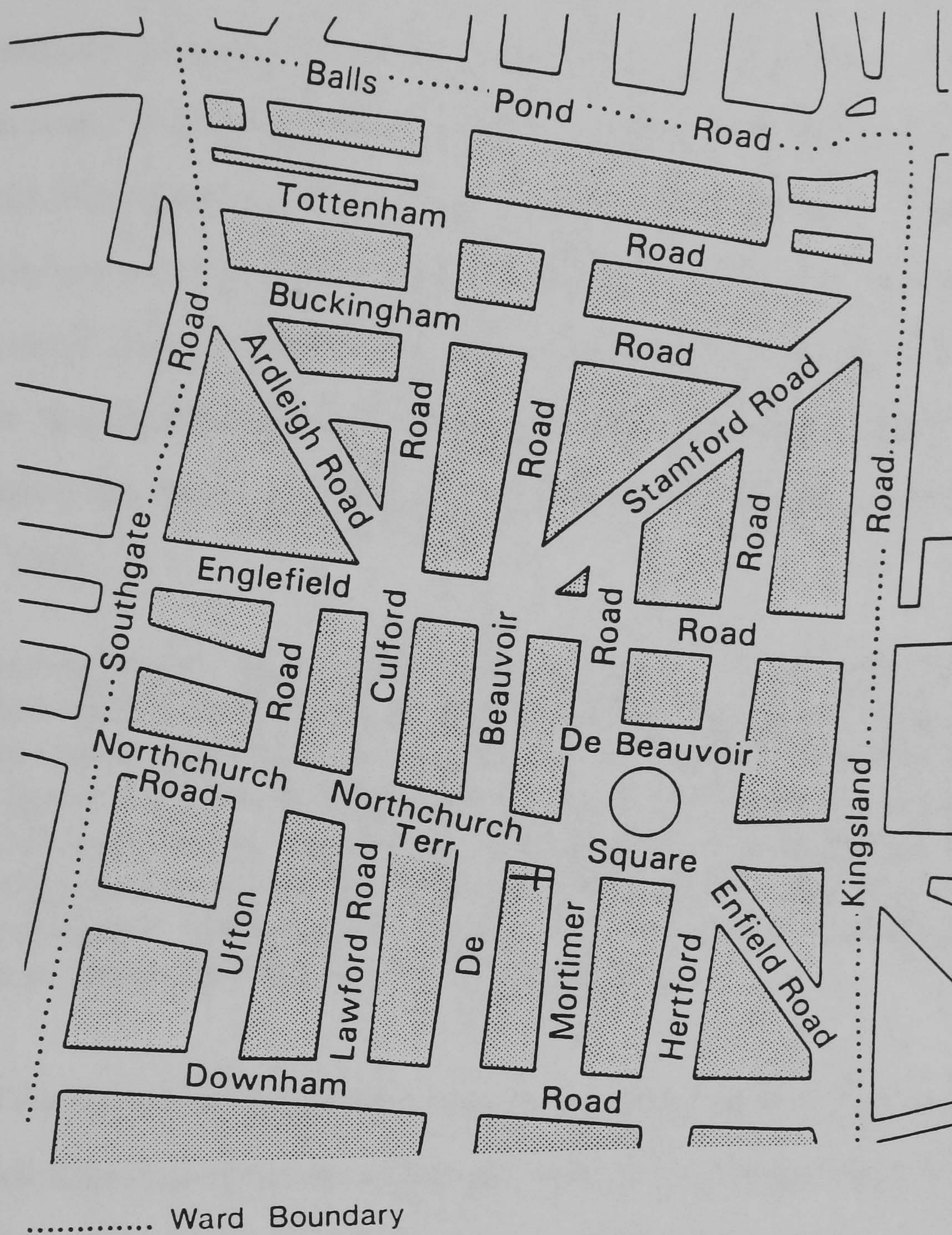
De Beauvoir

Originally built in the mid nineteenth century as a speculative development to house city workers, De Beauvoir Town has now reverted, after a period of post-war decline, to its original purpose. With the recent growth in City jobs together with long

working days and, in many cases the need to be available at weekends, it is not surprising that De Beauvoir Town, which is half an hour's brisk walk from the City, has become a favoured residential area. It would be a mistake though to explain its popularity solely in terms of geographical propinquity to the City. Physically De Beauvoir Town is an interesting mix. Part of it (the so-called New Town) fell to the bulldozers of comprehensive redevelopment in the early 1970s. About half of the area is therefore high-rise council development stemming from that period. Much of the rest of it though, from the north of the Downham Road, is still as it was in the late nineteenth century with the exception of the odd and highly visible council block. In a letter to the Times a local resident described De Beauvoir Town from a stereotypical gentrifier's point of view:

"Within a few moments' walk of my gracious Hackney home, I have two excellent public libraries, the church I attend and a number of friendly shops. I have been burgled twice. The second time, with the aid of my neighbours, the police caught the burglars. The household in London which has not been burgled is a fortunate one. My house, which was indeed in a sad state when I bought it has been put in order by me. When I moved there in 1975, there were six derelicts within 200 yards, Now there are none - all have been repaired. The bombed-out site opposite has been filled with council houses - not a dreary block but a reasonable imitation of a London town house. I like the street markets, the frenetic activity on Ridley Road, the garden market on Sunday."
(Times 26/8/83)

The area that was spared from the developers and in which this research was conducted falls into two (Map 6). The first area which runs from Downham Road to Englefield Road (The Old Town) was developed by the family of the existing freeholders ('The Benyon Trust') in the mid and latter part of the nineteenth century. It was a carefully thought out and executed development. The houses are generally low and wide with spacious rooms and large gardens. The second area, which is to the north of Englefield Road as far as Balls Pond Road, is less homogeneous in appearance. The houses are generally more like the typical 'North London Terrace', although there are some interesting variations. The rigid grid-plan pattern of the Old Town has not been maintained and it was clearly developed on a far more ad hoc and piecemeal basis.



Map 6: Detailed street map of the De Beauvoir survey area

North Defoe

North Defoe ward, which was chosen as the survey area for Stoke Newington, centres around Stoke Newington Church Street and is bounded by Clissold Park and Abney Park cemetery (Map 7). Physically, the area contrasts in many ways with De Beauvoir most notably in its green spaces and the style of its architecture. Whereas De Beauvoir has no centre and all commercial and leisure activity necessitates a journey out of the area, Stoke Newington is centred around its shops, restaurants etc. What it shares with De Beauvoir is a sense of being an entity though this is more social than physical. It also has a 'history' (Wright 1985a). It is not so much that other places lack history, but that in Stoke Newington it has been resuscitated along with the housing stock. As others have pointed out, history is a major adjunct to the gentrification process (Jager 1986; Kasinitz 1988).

" 'No politics please', said Holden Matthews. I agree but to write of Stoke Newington without politics is to eulogise the Himalayas without mentioning snow. This place has become the Islington of twenty years ago, the Kentish Town of a decade ago: it is the cutting edge of the gentrifying of London's Victoriana. We are full to the gunwhales with chic new-wave politicians, ex-hippies with burgeoning businesses, poets with directorships. We are a bastion of the chattering classes. We are more of a-twitter than a treeful of starlings" (Richard North in an Estate Agent's promotional newspaper).

Most of the houses in North Defoe are terraces, although they vary in size and plot density from large four storey 'town houses' to small two storey 'artisans' dwellings'. There are several council developments which mainly stem from the interwar or post war period when the area was part of Stoke Newington Borough Council. They are generally well regarded and many have recently undergone extensive refurbishment. Stoke Newington in the 1950s was very much a 'respectable' working-class borough and often returned a conservative majority. Its absorption into the London Borough of Hackney in 1964, as a result of the local government reorganization in London, coincided with its declining status from working-class respectability to multi-occupation; it is only in the last decade that gentrification has begun to change its social composition and visual landscape. It has, as we have seen, quite a high proportion both

of owner occupiers and housing associations. It is the bustle of Church Street with the green space of Clissold Park and the urban jungle of Abney Park cemetery that make for its physical attractiveness.

¹Duncan speculates that one of the reasons for the popularity of locality in many of the social science disciplines is that they are more interested 'in questions of how the world should be explained rather than in real world changes themselves' (Duncan 1986: 8).

²Castells' reduction of the spatial component of the urban to the spread of collective consumption in effect ignores the role of the spatial.

³The use of the term 'local culture' is something that needs to be argued for very specifically (see Rose [1988] for a useful study of local culture in Poplar in the 1920s).

⁴There is though considerable debate about this (see Antipode (1987) and the articles by Smith, Gregson, Warde amongst others).

⁵Mills (1987) does propose such an argument for a development in Vancouver.

⁶and now, presumably, the 071 prefix to their telephone numbers.

⁷It was suggested to me that the Council had an interest in not taking people off the Electoral Register because many government grants depended on maintaining a high inter-censal population and the electoral roll was one way of attesting to this. I certainly found evidence of people remaining on it who had moved many years previously.

⁸Estate agents have now coined the phrase East Stoke Newington to cover the less desirable bits across the Kingsland Road and refer to the core of Stoke Newington around Clissold Park and Stoke Newington Church Street as 'Stoke Newington Village'.

⁹There are fairly common patterns to the names given to council properties - they are usually called 'something or somebody' Block or Point (more often than not after a superannuated councillor). Failing that they are named after plants and trees.

¹⁰Many of the owner occupied properties were in fact leasehold, with the Benyon Trust being the freeholders. According to the 1981 Census 34% of owner occupiers were in leasehold property which, given the relatively low proportion of flats, implied that an unusually large number of houses were leasehold.

¹¹In drawing up the sampling frame it became apparent that in De Beauvoir quite a few flats were still being rented out by the Benyon Trust but this did not prove to be an insuperable problem as Benyon properties were generally identifiable by their black painted front doors.

¹²It could have been that they were multi-occupied owner-occupation, and I was in principle interested in this category but when I investigated some of these, they were invariably private rented. If they were owner-occupied, then at least some of the names were constant throughout the period.

¹³At face value this might seem a rather arbitrary procedure but in practice it was not only simple and straightforward but, as far as I could ascertain, accurate.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

BACKGROUNDS

Introduction

In this chapter, the survey data gathered from the 245 completed questionnaires are used to investigate a number of the theoretical issues posed in chapters two to four about the existence and characteristics of an inner-city service-class. Since the survey was only conducted in Hackney, it is not possible to make definitive comparisons with other groups amongst the service-class. Nevertheless the comparisons that are drawn between the two survey populations suggest there are differences both within the inner-city service-class and between this group as a whole and the service-class nationally. These differences are demonstrated by comparing the findings to data from the General Household Survey (GHS) which provides comparable national data.

This chapter is primarily concerned with the basic socio-economic characteristics of the service-class living in Hackney and how it differs from other sections of the service-class. The following two chapters are concerned with relating the values and attitudes of the interviewees (including those expressed in the in-depth interviews) to the discussion in chapters two, three and four where it was argued that values, attitudes and normative factors generally play an important role in service-class formation. This focus is used to explore why they came to live in the inner-city and the ways in which their attitudes differ from the service-class nationally. In the chapters which follow, distinctions are drawn not only between the inner London service-class and the service-class as a whole but also between respondents in the two areas surveyed - De Beauvoir Town and North Defoe.

A broad hypothesis arises from the discussion in the first four chapters, which is that there is a distinctively inner-urban (or probably more specifically an inner London) fraction to the service-class. Its membership can be distinguished from the service-class generally by a high level of formal education and the possession of what has rather

broadly been termed 'cultural capital'. This sub-group tends to be concentrated in the professional, as opposed to the technical and managerial, sections of the service-class. This is not to suggest that there are not such people living in non-urban situations nor that technical and managerial workers do not live in the inner-city, but that there is some 'elective affinity' between working in professional occupations, mainly in the service economy, and living in gentrified areas of the inner-city. It has been argued (albeit with little supporting evidence) that gentrification marks a conscious attempt both individually and collectively by the 'new class' to distinguish themselves from the suburban middle-class, from which many of them originate (Moore 1982; Williams 1986). This, of course, is largely an outcome of the spatial structuring of the labour market with the concentration of 'command and control' functions in London and other technical, managerial and production functions elsewhere (Massey 1984).

This chapter will therefore compare the social, and particularly educational background, of the Hackney respondents with the service-class generally. Higher education in terms of where and what they studied and the kinds of occupations which they have now entered are important points of comparison with national trends. Whilst there are important differences between those living in De Beauvoir and North Defoe, it will be shown that respondents living in both areas come from socially more privileged backgrounds than the service-class generally and are considerably better educated.

Perhaps the crucial factor, which may be linked to their particular experience of higher education and their social and political attitudes, which are discussed in the next chapter, is the respondents' household structure. They are not particularly young, with an average age in their mid-thirties, but there is a very high incidence of dual-earner households. In such households, both partners tend to have high status professional occupations and females return to work after the birth of their children. This emphasis on household factors is not merely a function of the financial need for two incomes but it also reflects a fundamental set of values about gender roles and the position of women in both the home and workforce, which sets this group apart from other sections of the service class (Warde 1991).

Demographic and household factors

Research into gentrification has established that gentrifiers are a cohesive group in so far as they are highly-educated, clustered in the higher social economic groups and earn above median incomes; they also tend to be young and already living in the inner-city (Gale 1984).

In this first section, demographic and household factors are examined to see to what extent respondents ‘fit’ this pattern. Of the two hundred and forty five people interviewed there were 131 males and 114 females. Respondents were mainly in their thirties and early forties; the mean age was just under thirty seven, the standard deviation was 8.4 years. There was a slight difference in the mean age between the two areas, 38 in De Beauvoir and 35 in North Defoe. This difference, though slight, did as we shall see reinforce an impression of De Beauvoir as being somewhat more ‘mature’ in terms, for example, of length of residence, career seniority and family formation.

This indicates a remarkably cohesive group in its age profile: in their thirties and early forties, educated in the 1960s and 1970s and establishing itself in the labour market in the 1970s and early 1980s. They were also generally living in established households by 1988. Table 7.1 indicates the household structure of respondents, broken down by area:

Table 7.1:
Household Structure

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Husband/Wife	63	50	43	36	106	43
Partner	26	21	33	28	59	24
Other	5	4	9	8	14	6
Single	33	26	33	28	66	27
Total	127	100	118	100	245	100

The percentage of single person households is three times the 1987 national average of 9% for persons below pensionable age (Central Statistical Office 1989: 35). Nationally, 77% of households in 1987 consisted of a married couple with or without children (CSO 1989: 39) which compares to 71% of households in De Beauvoir and

64% in North Defoe, if cohabitating couples are included. These differences are obviously influenced by the almost total absence of pensioners amongst the survey population, although a high proportion of pensioners live alone. It is the prevalence of single person households that accounts for the main differences. The other significant difference is the number of couples that are co-habiting outside marriage. The 1987 General Household Survey (GHS) estimates that approximately 6% of women aged between 18 and 49 were co-habiting; this rose to 11% of women between 18-24 (and of men between 25-29) and fell back subsequently¹. The figures reported here, especially for North Defoe, are therefore striking particularly given that the majority of respondents were in their thirties or forties. It may well be that the proclivity to live in families outside marriage and to be single is a significant 'cultural identifier' for those who decide to live in the inner-city.

Four percent of those in De Beauvoir and 8% in North Defoe lived in what might be termed 'non family' households; this was usually a number of adults sharing the house, often on a co-ownership basis; once more this might be indicative of the kinds of differences in household structure and formation to be found in the inner-city. It is compatible with notions of 'marginal gentrification' (Rose 1984) and 'pioneering' (Smith 1987a) which are ascribed to the early stages of inner-city revitalization. In this respect the higher incidence in North Defoe may be significant both because its gentrification is a later phenomenon than De Beauvoir and also because its culture is likely to be more 'alternative' and thus open to such social experimentation.

These differences from the national pattern of household structure are not however confirmed in terms of the number of families with children. Forty two percent of households had children, leaving 58% of households which did not have children. According to the 1987 GHS, 32% of households had dependent children.

Table 7.2:
Number of children

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
None	73	58	68	58	141	58
One	19	15	32	27	51	21
Two	19	15	14	12	33	14
Three or more	16	13	4	3	20	8
Total	127	100	118	100	245	100

The Hackney figures are obviously heavily influenced by the age profile of the population which was predominantly in its thirties and was thus a cohort highly likely to have dependent children. This is nevertheless an important finding, as it points to a group where a significant proportion have remained in the inner-city and had children.

Sixty percent of those who were married or co-habiting had had a previous home together. Of the 40% of couples for whom this was their first joint home, a high proportion had nevertheless entered their current relationship from owner-occupation; in 80% of the cases in De Beauvoir and 64% in North Defoe one or other or both of the partners had previously been owner-occupiers. Taking all respondents (ie including single person households), 68% had previously been owner-occupiers; the actual breakdown of previous tenure is given by Table 7.3:

Table 7.3:
Previous housing tenure

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Owner-occupation	92	72	75	64	167	68
Private Rented	26	20	32	27	58	24
Council Rented	3	2	3	3	6	2
Other	6	5	8	7	14	6
Total	127	100	118	100	245	100

Not surprisingly, private rented accommodation was the other main previous tenure; which fits with the idea of young service-class entrants to the workforce, coming to London from higher education, who rent somewhere for their first few years both to accumulate capital and also to decide where their career is going and what sort of lifestyle they wish to follow.

The type of housing that they occupy is also revealing; nearly three quarters live in houses as opposed to flats or maisonnettes.

Table 7.4:
Type of housing

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
House	89	70	85	72	174	71
Converted flat	38	30	21	18	59	24
Purpose built flat	0	0	12	10	12	5
Total	127	100	118	100	245	100

The Nationwide Anglia Building Society's figures for the types of property it lent on in 1988, give a rather different picture, for Hackney *as a whole*: 36% were houses, 27% purpose built flats and 37% converted flats (Nationwide Anglia 1988). In this sense, respondents were not typical of recent homebuyers; this is probably explained by the fact that, as a group, they tended not to be first-time buyers who probably were buying elsewhere, in rather cheaper areas of Hackney.

Turning to where respondents had lived previously, the data confirm that gentrification in Hackney has not been a 'back to the city movement' but a process of resettlement of those already there (Gale 1984; Smith 1979). The proportion coming from outside London is small - 18% for De Beauvoir and 12% for North Defoe. In North Defoe in particular there is a very high proportion coming from the same area (34%).

Table 7.5:
Area of previous residence

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Same area	26	21	40	34	66	27
Inner London	28	22	20	17	48	20
Islington	22	17	18	15	40	16
Outer London	17	13	13	11	30	12
Hackney	11	9	13	11	24	10
Rest of South East	9	7	3	3	12	5
Elsewhere	14	11	11	9	25	10
Total	127	100	118	100	245	100

In summary, respondents were 'thirty something' and, for the most part, already living in inner London and owner-occupiers when they bought their current property. A

higher proportion were living on their own than is the case nationally but also those who are married or co-habiting are more likely than national figures to have dependent children.

Social Background

As we have seen, one of the problems with discussions about the service-class is that there is very little empirical work on it. An immediate issue is how to operationalize the concept. Marshall (1988) argues, not uncontroversially but generally convincingly, that Goldthorpe's operationalization of social class is the most accurate reflection of the empirical experience of social class in modern Britain. In particular, the authors argue that Wright's (1985b) classification of class is impossible to operationalize systematically. In what follows, I therefore intend to utilise, as far as possible, Goldthorpe's operational definition of social class.

Goldthorpe has defined the service-class as consisting of those in classes I and II of his class schema² (see Goldthorpe and Hope 1974). He defines social class I as

"...all higher grade professionals, self-employed or salaried: higher grade administrators and officials in central and local government and in public and private enterprises (including company directors); managers in large industrial establishments; and large proprietors ... What Class 1 positions have in common is that they afford their incumbents incomes which are high, generally secure, and likely to rise steadily over their lifetimes; and that they are positions which typically involve the exercise of authority and/or expertise within a range of discretion, and thus offer considerable autonomy and freedom from control by others. Class one might therefore be taken as corresponding to the higher and intermediate levels of what Dahrendorf, following Karl Renner, has termed the 'service-class' (Dienstklasse) of modern capitalist society - precisely the class of those exercising authority and expertise on behalf of corporate bodies - plus such elements of the classic bourgeoisie (independent businessmen (sic) and 'free' professionals) as are not yet assimilated into this new formation." (Goldthorpe 1987: 40-41)

He notes, parenthetically, that the inclusion of self-employed professionals is somewhat anomalous although, as he says, the anomaly is more 'apparent than real' given that the distinction has more to do with tax and national insurance advantages than with social and occupational difference. This is relevant given the large number of self-

employed professional in the survey population, particularly amongst those living in De Beauvoir. He goes on to define social class II in the following terms:

"Lower-grade professionals and higher-grade technicians; lower grade administrators and officials; managers in small business and industrial establishments and in services; and supervisors of non-manual employees. Typically, Class II positions guarantee income levels that rank directly below those of Class I, and also carry 'staff' status and conditions of employment. The occupational roles of Class II members tend to be located in the middle and lower ranges of bureaucratic hierarchies of one type or another, so that they exercise some degree of authority and discretion in the performance of their work-tasks while at the same time being subject to more or less systematic, if not particularly close, control from above. Class II, in other words, can be seen as complementing Class I of our schema in representing the subaltern or cadet levels of the service-class." (Goldthorpe 1987: 40-41)

This operationalization of occupational classifications is very helpful in the context of this research and, as becomes clear later, over 90% of respondents who were employed were in the service-class. The distinctions that Goldthorpe draws empirically between those in Class I and Class II are also helpful and significant in drawing comparisons between the two research areas. They are also helpful in considering the social origins of the survey population.

It was argued in earlier chapters that the service-class in Britain is a class in a relatively early stage of formation and that it has been estimated that approximately two thirds of its current membership has been recruited from other classes of origin. Goldthorpe draws a distinction between the 29% who are 'directly mobile' (ie they move directly from their class of origin into the service-class) and the remainder who are 'indirectly mobile' (they do not move directly and spend some time in their class of origin and/or an intermediate class prior to joining the service-class) (Goldthorpe 1980: 200). Those who are directly mobile into the service-class, which normally means through higher education, are more likely to be found in the professional category than those who are indirectly mobile who are more likely to be in an administrative or managerial category (1980: 134-6). Goldthorpe's data suggest that there is a strong tendency for children whose fathers are already in the service-class (but who are not necessarily themselves highly-credentialed) to aspire to its more highly credentialed

professionalized sections. According to Goldthorpe, the first full-time occupation of four-fifths of those with fathers in Class I or II is in a professional or higher technical category and only one fifth in an administrative or managerial category. The occupational division for those with fathers in intermediate or working-class categories is, by contrast, almost equal (Goldthorpe 1980: 125). As we have seen, a number of authors have focused on the key role played by higher education as an agent of socialization into the service-class (Martin 1982; Lash and Urry 1987; Savage 1988b; Savage and Fielding 1989; Gouldner 1979).

The social origin of Hackney respondents (using Goldthorpe’s definition) differs dramatically from Goldthorpe’s data which show that two thirds of the service-class are upwardly mobile; two thirds of those interviewed in Hackney came from service-class backgrounds, as measured by their father’s last occupation.

Table 7.6:
Social Class of Respondent’s Father

Occupational Class ³	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Higher Professional	54	43	37	32	91	37
Lower Professional	29	23	37	32	66	27
Routine NonManual 1	3	2	6	5	9	4
Routine NonManual 2	5	4	4	3	9	4
Self Employed	15	12	12	10	27	11
Supervisory	5	4	7	6	12	5
Skilled Manual	6	5	6	5	12	5
Semi- and Unskilled	8	6	6	5	14	6
Other	1	1	2	2	3	1
Total	126	100	117	100	243	100

Table 7.6 suggests that there is a situation of élite recruitment into the service-class amongst Hackney respondents. The overall proportion coming from the service-class does not differ much between the two areas, but the balance between Class I and Class II does vary significantly. In De Beauvoir 43% came from Class 1 backgrounds and 23% came from Class II whereas in North Defoe the balance was equally divided between both classes (32% each). The largest non-service-class background in both cases was self-employment. There are two conclusions to be drawn from this data; firstly that those who are living in the inner-city appear to be more likely to come from a service-class background than the service-class nationally; secondly it appears that

different areas of the inner-city may attract people from different backgrounds. Both these conclusions obviously need to be investigated in more detail but they are suggestive of possible sources of cleavage amongst the service-class and its residential locations.

One of the common factors to emerge from the unstructured interviews however was a dislike by respondents of the suburbanism of their own childhood which was coupled with a desire on their part not to live in the suburbs.

“We hate suburbia... it’s all the same... we have relatives in Southgate - all the streets look the same around there” (Hilary)

“My parents, with growing affluence, followed the Central Line out...it’s lower middle-class to live in the outer suburbs”(Geraldine)

Ninety percent of respondents were brought up in the UK and 60% came from the south of the country. Sixty percent still had family living in the area in which they had been raised.

Almost eighty percent of the respondents came from a family who were owner-occupiers whilst they were living at home; this increased to approximately 90% when asked if their parents had subsequently bought their own home. Two thirds of those *not* from a service-class background came from a home-owning one.

Table 7.7:
Parental Housing Tenure by Father's Social Class when respondent lived at home

	Parental Housing Tenure					
	Owner-Occupier		Non Owner-Occupier		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Father's Social Class						
Service Class	136	70	21	43	157	65
Non Service Class	58	30	28	57	86	35
Total	194	100	49	100	243	100

The importance of home ownership on children’s aspirations and subsequent careers is a subject of comparatively recent interest but it has been argued that home ownership is an important factor in explaining subsequent inter-generational social mobility (Savage, Watt and Arber 1990). Table 7.7 does suggest that home-ownership

was high, especially amongst those respondents who did not come from a service-class background.

In summary, nearly two thirds of those interviewed came from a service-class background and over a third came from the upper echelons of the service-class. In addition, two thirds of those whose fathers were not in service-class occupations came from home-owning backgrounds.

Education and Educational Background

Education is widely held to be the key to occupational, and therefore class, mobility (Goldthorpe 1980; Gouldner 1979). Countless studies though have demonstrated that class background has been crucial in gaining access to the education system (Banks 1955; Halsey 1980). There are two aspects of social mobility in Britain: first, *absolute* rates of mobility which show that the growth in higher class occupations has outstripped the ability of members of those class occupations to provide the next generation thus ensuring recruitment from those of a lower class background (Goldthorpe 1980; Marshall 1988). Secondly *relative* mobility rates have remained remarkably stable over generations (since the early years of this century according to some accounts) and the odds on a working-class male attaining a service-class position have remained more than *ten* times less favourable than those for a male from a middle-class background (Goldthorpe 1986: 8). It has been argued that the service-class in Britain, until comparatively recently, consisted of a small class of top administrators and professionals and, unlike in the United States, educational qualifications were not, in themselves, important (Lash and Urry 1987). Many of those carrying out service-class functions in the post-war period, particularly in administrative and managerial categories, did not, as Goldthorpe has shown, possess high educational qualifications.

In recent years though, access to the service-class has become increasingly dependent upon degree level educational qualifications (Goldthorpe 1980). Lash and Urry argue strongly that it is not merely the technical competences gained during higher education that are important but, following Bourdieu, they point to the more general

acquisition of ‘cultural capital’ from higher education. This point seems to be particularly important when looked at in the context of *how* higher education has expanded. Despite the efforts of successive governments to expand science and technology subjects, this expansion took place in the humanities and social sciences in the 1960s and 1970s and has paralleled the growth of the welfare state and the ‘expressive professions’ (Martin 1982; Lash and Urry 1987). Goldthorpe claims that those who have entered the service-class direct through education have been more likely to become ‘integrated’ into it socially. He defines this in terms of interaction patterns which are more similar to those who come from service-class backgrounds themselves than it is for those coming into the service-class indirectly through working-class or intermediate class occupations (1980: 160). Higher education in Britain generally plays a crucial role not only by socializing potential recruits into the service-class but also as a consequence of its unusual national structure; it removes many of them from the home at the age of 18 and encourages them to be geographically mobile (Savage 1988b). Higher education is therefore as much an agent of socialization as a provider of technical expertise⁴ and, whilst it remains the main conduit for recruitment to the service-class, access to higher education continues to be highly skewed in class terms.

Given the class background of the respondents in the survey, it might be expected that a high percentage of them would have gone to grammar and private schools and hence to university.

Table 7.8:
Type of Secondary School attended

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Grammar	47	37	37	32	84	34
Independent	40	32	28	24	68	28
Comprehensive	13	10	28	24	41	17
Direct Grant	14	11	12	10	26	11
Other	8	6	8	7	16	7
Secondary Modern	5	4	4	3	9	4
Total	127	100	117	100	244	100

Missing Data = 1

Approximately 5% of school children nationally attended independent schools in the 1960s and 1970s (CSO 1989). Given the class background of the respondents, we

would expect to find a rather higher percentage but nevertheless the actual figures are remarkable. Nearly one third of respondents in De Beauvoir and a quarter in North Defoe attended an independent school. Another 10% in both areas attended a Direct Grant school (many of which have subsequently become fee paying). In contrast only 21% overall attended a comprehensive school (or secondary modern), although the difference here between the two areas is quite large (10% in De Beauvoir and 24% in North Defoe). Whilst these differences between the two areas are interesting they are not statistically significant. The largest difference is between those who went to comprehensive schools, with considerably less than might statistically be expected in De Beauvoir and more in North Defoe. This difference between expected and observed was twice as great as for any other category of secondary school.

The main point is that, in both areas, respondents comprise an educational élite; eighty percent either went to a grammar or fee-paying school and, even in North Defoe, these schools accounted for two-thirds of respondents. This suggests, as I have already claimed, that we are discussing a sub group of the service-class who share a highly privileged educational background - either through the ability of their parents to pay and/or by their own ability to pass competitive examinations.

This élitism is carried through to university; over eighty percent had entered higher education but what is equally significant is the type of institution they went to:

Table 7.9:
Place of Higher Education (First Degree)

Institution of Higher Education	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Oxbridge	26	25	13	14	39	20
Redbrick	36	35	31	33	67	34
Plateglass	12	12	18	19	30	15
Polytechnic	11	11	14	15	25	13
College of Education	2	2	4	4	6	3
Art College	8	8	4	4	12	6
Other	9	9	11	12	20	10
Total	104	100	95	100	199	100

Missing Data = 46 (ie those respondents not receiving a higher education)

A fifth of those with degrees went to Oxford and Cambridge and over a third went to redbrick universities. The proportion who went to Oxbridge is even higher in

De Beauvoir, where it accounted for a quarter of all those who had a tertiary education. This cannot be accounted for solely by the family or educational background of the population. Whilst it is easy to refer to Oxbridge as the élite of the English educational system, it is less clear whether there is any significance in the number going to redbrick universities except that it is indicative of the mainstream of traditional higher education. A relatively low percentage went to the 'plateglass universities' (ie those built in the 1960s following on from the Robbins Report), polytechnics and colleges of education (in all three cases somewhat higher in North Defoe than De Beauvoir).

Taking into account respondents' family background and the smaller higher education system of twenty years ago, a higher than average higher education participation ratio might be expected. Nevertheless the educational background of these people was exceptional. The 1986 General Household Survey shows that, of those in professional employment (ie a rather more selective group than used here), 62% of respondents had attained a degree or equivalent but 'only' 40% had been to university with a further 27% having attended a polytechnic or college of further education⁵ (OPCS 1989). There can be little doubt therefore that the respondents were, comparatively, extremely highly-educated and also their higher education was not only predominantly in the university sector but at the élite end of it. As such, respondents appear to be part of the national 'cream' of the service-class.

In view of the previous discussion about the role of higher education as a source of 'cultural capital' (Lash and Urry 1987), there is a revealing bias towards arts, humanities and social science subjects and away from science and technology.

Table 7.10:
Discipline Studied

Discipline Studied	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Arts and Humanities	38	37	32	34	70	35
Social Sciences	18	17	29	31	47	24
Science & Technology	14	14	10	11	24	12
Business	3	3	1	1	4	2
Law & Accountancy	12	12	2	2	14	7
Art & Design	10	10	7	7	17	9
Other	8	8	11	12	19	10
Did not complete	1	1	3	3	4	2
Total	104	100	95	100	199	100

Missing Data = 46

It is likely that most such graduates will look to careers in the service sector and specifically in its professional and administrative sub-divisions. The élite nature of their education, coupled with the manner in which the administrative, professional and cultural institutions of the nation are still concentrated in London, helps to explain why they are attracted to working in London.

There has been considerable debate about the tendency of the English middle-class to favour the arts and humanities rather than subjects more oriented to business and technology (Wiener 1985). If business subjects and science and technology are excluded, but the legal and accountancy ‘professions’ included, then 75% of respondents studied what might be termed ‘liberal arts’ courses. The restricted range of disciplines and of institutions at which they studied, suggest a very particular higher educational bias towards élite institutions and non business/commercial subjects. This fits with what has traditionally been seen as the education of the ‘gifted amateur’ which is held to typify the British approach to running things. The lack of scientific and technological disciplines is striking, in contrast for example to Savage’s (1988a) study of service-class respondents in Berkshire who were either professional managers or skilled high level technicians and, presumably, had a more technical or business-oriented education.

The differences between De Beauvoir and North Defoe in disciplines and institutions illustrate possible nuances of difference amongst sections of the inner London service-class. These nuances are revealing. The most significant difference was, as we have seen, the number going to Oxbridge. If the observed and expected figures are

calculated⁶ then twice as many in De Beauvoir as might be expected went to Oxbridge compared with North Defoe. There was also a difference in *what* was studied between the two areas. A significantly greater number had read social sciences in North Defoe and law in De Beauvoir⁷. This represents possibly a division between the traditional professions and the new 'expressive professions' of the welfare state (Martin 1981).

Table 7.11:
Observed and expected frequencies for Higher Education discipline.

Discipline area	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	n	%
Arts	38	37	32	33	70	36
Social Science	18	25	29	22	47	24
Science, Technology & Business	17	15	11	13	28	14
Law and Accountancy	12	7	2	7	14	7
Other	18	19	18	17	36	19
Total	103	103	92	92	195	100

Missing data = 50;
Significance 0.03 Cramers V 0.24

Perhaps not surprisingly the public schools were over-represented in sending their ex-pupils to Oxbridge largely at the expense of the comprehensive schools.

Table 7.12:
Type of secondary school and type of HE institution attended

School Type	Oxbridge		Redbrick		Plateglass		Other		Total	
	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	n	%
Grammar	13	14	27	24	9	11	21	22	70	35
Public	19	12	18	20	6	9	17	19	60	30
Comprehensive	1	6	10	10	6	5	13	10	30	15
Direct Grant	6	5	9	9	8	4	3	8	26	13
Other	0	3	3	4	1	2	9	4	13	7
Total	39		67		30		63		199	100

Missing Data = 46
Significance 0.003 Cramer's V 0.22

It might be argued that there is an association between where respondents studied for their first degree and what they studied, since the range of subjects is to some extent specific to institution. 'Greats' or 'PPE' are not found outside Oxbridge and, in the 1960s at least, social sciences were not taught at Oxbridge but dominated the curriculum of many of the new universities.

Table 7.13:
HE Institution and discipline studied

Discipline	Oxbridge		Redbrick		New		Other		Total	
	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	n	%
Arts	19	14	30	24	11	11	10	22	70	36
Social Science	8	9	18	16	12	7	9	15	47	24
Science & Technology	6	6	9	10	5	4	8	9	28	14
Law	6	3	6	5	0	2	2	4	14	7
Other	0	7	3	12	2	6	31	11	36	19
Total	39	39	66	66	30	30	60	60	195	100

Missing Data = 50
Significance 0.00 Cramer's V 0.36

A slightly higher than 'expected' number of respondents had studied arts and humanities at Oxbridge and the redbricks; rather more had studied social sciences at the 'plateglass' universities and Polytechnics. In the latter group far less than 'expected' took arts subjects and considerably more took 'other' subjects, including teacher training and art and design.

From this data it would therefore appear that the kind of secondary school attended was the major factor in determining where respondents went for their higher education. Father's social class was significant in that it influenced the kind of secondary school they went to and, as we have seen, those who went to public schools were far more likely to go to the élite universities. The association between father's class and type of secondary school was very significant (0.00 and Cramer's V = 0.26). Those in social class I were much more likely to be educated privately (but, surprisingly, there was no association here with direct grant schools) whereas those in social class II were far more likely to have gone to grammar schools and, to a lesser extent, direct grant schools. Other social classes tend to have been educated at comprehensive schools⁸.

Respondents were therefore highly educated, predominantly in non scientific, business and technological subjects often at élite institutions. It is therefore unsurprising that they work in the London area but it is less clear why they have subsequently chosen to live in the inner-city. Gouldner (1979), writing about the 'new class' stresses the communality of the new class as a 'speech community' whereby

"They speak a special linguistic variant, an elaborated linguistic variant. Their speech variant is characterized by an orientation to a qualitatively special culture of speech: the culture of a careful and critical discourse (CCD)." (Gouldner 1979: 27).

It is this 'CCD', acquired during their years of higher education, that Gouldner equates with the 'cultural capital' of the new class. In essence, the concept is not that different from Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). It is, in Gouldner's view, a discourse where everything can be discussed, *"the shared ideology of the intellectuals and intelligentsia is thus an ideology about discourse"* (Gouldner 1979: 28). He argues that higher education is the crucial reproducer of such values. Crucially, in the UK, this happens away from home and close parental supervision and is mediated by a special group of new class 'teachers' (Gouldner 1979: 43). This fits well with respondents for whom higher education provided a general range of 'discourse skills' which, perhaps, sets them apart from other graduate members of the service-class. Whether there is evidence that such people are more disposed to live in gentrified inner London areas is less clear, but intuitively it seems reasonable to assume it to be likely.

Occupational characteristics.

It is difficult to summarise the range of respondents' occupations because of their diversity. Also, the classifications developed by OPCS seem incapable of incorporating many service-class occupations particularly in new professional and higher technical occupations. A range of approaches therefore needs to be adopted to indicate not only the variety of ways in which respondents earned their livings but also some of their basic similarities. Taking social class as the first indicator, respondents were overwhelmingly members of the service-class: 87% of those interviewed were, by their own (ie not by their husband's in the case of females) occupational classification, members of the service-class (according to Goldthorpe's definition).

Table 7.14:
Respondents' Social Class (Hope Goldthorpe)

Respondent's social class ⁹	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
social class 1	61	48	18	15	79	32
social class 2	51	40	84	71	135	55
social class 3	1	1	4	3	5	2
social class 4	10	8	5	4	15	6
social class 8	4	3	7	6	11	5
Total	127	100	118	100	245	100

Missing Data = 0

Approximately one third of those interviewed were in the top echelon of the service-class (ie social class I), although there was a massive difference here between the two areas. Nearly half of those in De Beauvoir, compared to less than a sixth in North Defoe, were in social class I, whereas nearly three quarters of those in North Defoe were members of social class II. At the same time, nearly twice the percentage of males as females were in social class I (41% compared to 22%); 65% of females were in social class II compared to 47% of males. The male/female ratio was similar for both areas although the difference between the areas remained: whilst there were significantly less women than men in social class I in De Beauvoir, nearly a third of women there were in social class I compared to only 10% for North Defoe. Conversely nearly three quarters of the women in North Defoe were in social class II compared to 55% for De Beauvoir. The pattern of internal differentiation amongst respondents was therefore complex. There were three major divisions in respondents' class position, first between social class I and social class II, and second there was a gender division with proportionately more men than women in social class I, and third between area.

Respondents were also classified by their socio-economic group (SEG) which was then subdivided into three categories of 'professional', 'managerial' and 'other'. It has been argued that there are significant differences within the service-class between those in managerial and administrative categories and those who are in managerial and technical ones (Savage 1990; Crompton 1990; Goldthorpe 1980).

Table 7.15:
Respondent's SEG

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Managerial	46	39	32	28	78	34
Professional	63	53	74	66	137	59
Other SEGs	10	8	7	6	17	7
Total	119	100	113	100	232	100

Missing Data = 13

There is a bias towards the professional sector, particularly in North Defoe, which once more provides an indication of the non-managerial and non-technical nature of their occupations.

The Wright (1985) classification locates 12 possible 'class positions' according to a matrix of 'assets': those based around capital, skill and organizational position. There are major difficulties in carrying out this exercise particularly with a group of highly qualified respondents many of whom work in public sector professions where their jobs are increasingly defined as managerial. In so far as Wright issues guidelines about how to code an individual, they were followed. This gave the distribution displayed in Table 7.16.

Table 7.16:
Respondents' Wright classification

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Self employed	43	35	24	21	67	29
Credentialed Managers	27	22	15	13	42	18
Credentialed Supervisors	8	7	4	4	12	5
Credentialed Employees	42	34	64	57	106	45
Uncredentialed Managers	0	0	4	4	4	2
Workers	2	2	1	1	3	1
Total	122	100	112	100	234	100

The pattern is not incompatible with the breakdown by SEG since Wright is more likely to emphasise the managerial nature of the work in the public sector which OPCS tends to classify as professional. The high number of self-employed, particularly in De Beauvoir, is revealing. In part this is accounted for by the number of people holding professional partnerships in the legal, and to a lesser extent, accountancy professions which, as Goldthorpe has indicated, says more about peculiarities of the tax system than about difference with other professional employment.

Even if those who are technically self-employed, by reason of being partners in professional employment, are excluded, self-employment remains a large and significant grouping. Far from being a public sector ghetto, the service-class in Hackney was primarily employed in the private or self-employed sector.

Table 7.17:
Respondents' employment sector

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Private Sector	51	42	39	35	90	39
Public sector	24	20	45	40	69	30
Self-employed ¹	44	36	24	21	68	29
Voluntary sector	3	3	4	4	7	3
Total	122	100	112	100	234	100

Missing Data = 11

Breaking the private sector down further, showed that just six people worked in manufacturing, the rest worked exclusively in the service sector. This is hardly surprising given the nature of the London labour market.

The public sector is the biggest single employer in North Defoe. Of those working in the public sector, the largest single group worked in local government; this accounted for just over a fifth of all respondents in North Defoe, many, if not most, of whom worked in education. This contrasts with only 5% of the De Beauvoir residents who worked in local government. If the sectors are further disaggregated though, the single largest category in North Defoe is private sector services (24%), which is marginally more than the similar category for De Beauvoir. It would therefore be a mistake to see North Defoe as being dominated by the public sector. Although self-employment was not as large as in De Beauvoir, where it was the single largest category (28%), it nevertheless accounted for 19% of those employed in North Defoe. If the private sector and self-employed were combined then this would form the largest sector; in other words, more respondents in North Defoe earn their living in a predominantly market system than a state one. In both areas self-employment is a major source of employment. Respondents were therefore bunched in the fastest growing sector of the economy, namely services and particularly self-employment. These figures are very similar in proportional terms for respondents' partners.

These findings both confirm and contrast with Savage's (1988a) study of Berkshire. The significance of self-employment is confirmed but the sectoral nature of that employment is in sharp contrast. In addition, Savage found a high labour turnover approaching 50% a year, whilst the De Beauvoir residents were well established in their organizations. Less than 8% had worked with their present employer for under a year and over half had worked for them for more than five years. The figures are broadly comparable for North Defoe, with respondents marginally less well established in the labour market. In North Defoe 58% belonged to trade unions which was nearly twice as many as in De Beauvoir and probably reflects the greater number employed in the state sector and other unionized professions such as the media. Given the importance of credentialism in the welfare professions, it is likely that trade unionism is seen as a means of maintaining credentialist struggles (Abercrombie and Urry 1983). Nearly half of those who were trade union members said their prime reason was one of principle.

All of these measures point to a particularly skewed occupational structure, which comprises highly credentialed professional and administrative workers. The only way to illustrate this is to give examples of the actual occupations of selected residents from both areas. A list of occupations is appended in Appendix 3 together with partners' occupations - where appropriate. It is a fascinating list, involving not only the traditional professions, notably the law, but many of the newer semi-professions - welfare and education. Perhaps more interestingly is the large number working in design and marketing, the media and the systems side of new technology. It also includes more than a spattering of musicians, opera singers and therapists. What they share as individuals is many years of higher education and a belief in what Gouldner has termed the 'culture of critical discourse' (Gouldner 1979: 58ff). You could put them in a room together and they would immediately find something to talk about to each other!¹⁰

Dual income households

I have argued that the household rather than the individual may be the appropriate unit of analysis for understanding the inner London service-class. Of the 169

respondents who were living in households with partners, 149 of those partners also had paid employment, in other words 88% of those households were dual earner households. There was a variation here, with 84% of families in De Beauvoir being dual income and 93% in North Defoe. According to the 1987 Labour Force Survey (OPCS 1989b) 46% of all women had paid employment (of whom 25% were full-time and the rest part-time). Just under 70% of women aged 25 to 44 were in paid employment, which might be a better point of comparison, although again somewhat more than half were only part-time. Almost all of the women who were interviewed worked full-time in paid employment. Whether the vast majority of households had two income earners because they lived in the inner-city or they lived in the inner-city because both partners worked is a crucial question.

Although more men worked in the private sector and more women in the public, the association between gender and employment sector was not statistically significant, although it may well be sociologically highly significant. However, it is revealing to break down the sectoral relationship between partners. This shows a strong association between partners working in the same sector. Two thirds of those working in the public sector had partners working in the public sector with no significant variation between the sexes. The partners of men working in the private sector were evenly distributed across the sectors, whereas the (male) partners of women working in the private sector were much more likely to work in the private sector or to be self-employed; nearly two thirds of women who were self-employed had self-employed partners. In other words, women working in the private sector are less likely to have public sector partners.

I believe that there is some significance in these complex findings for the overall argument which is that, whilst the employment status of both members of the household is important, it remains structured by dominant gender relations. Generally, men are likely to have the higher status and paid jobs and tend to feel uncomfortable at the status dislocation of having either better paid or higher status partners. In this context, working in the private sector implies both higher social status and higher income. The fact that men in North Defoe who work in the private sector are more likely to have

partners working in the public sector is indicative, I would suggest, of the attractions of North Defoe to those with a 'public sector ideology'.

Gender reinforces the differences between the social class of partners and their respondents. Nearly half of the partners of male respondents in social class I were in social class II and only 15% in social class I, whereas only one male respondent in social class II had a wife in social class I. The position for female respondents is rather different, of those in social class I, 44% had partners in social class I and for those in social class II, 15% had social class I partners and two thirds had partners in the same class. Gender differences within relationships correspond to the broader pattern of gender inequality; it was relatively rare that women had a higher class position than males. Eighty five percent of men in social class II had social class II partners and 66% percent of social class II women had social class II partners.

Salary

The data presented so far indicate that respondents are drawn from a highly educated élite who are amongst the top socio-economic groups. It might therefore be expected that their material status would reflect this and it does.

The (1988) income profile of De Beauvoir residents can be illustrated by taking the mid-points of salary categories and calculating the mean income. For men this was £30,625 and for females £19,768. Two thirds of males and just under one third of females earned more than £20,000 per year; this compares to national figures for the 1986 GHS only 18% of a similar group of males and just 4% of females earned the same amount (OPCS 1989: 131). The difference in salaries between 1986 and 1988 when the De Beauvoir residents were interviewed cannot account for this difference. The differential between male and female salaries is less in De Beauvoir than nationally which supports the view that service-class employment in London is far more open to women than elsewhere.

Table 7.18:
Respondent's Annual Salary: De Beauvoir

Annual Salary	Male		Female		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Less than £10,000	5	7	11	20	16	13
£10-15,000	9	13	13	24	22	18
£15-20,000	11	15	12	22	23	18
£20-30,000	19	26	9	17	28	22
£30-40,000	9	13	5	9	14	11
£40-50,000	8	11	2	4	10	8
£50-60,000	5	7	0	0	5	4
More than £60,000	8	11	2	4	8	6
Total	72	100	54	100	126	100

Respondents living in De Beauvoir are therefore maintaining the relatively privileged position that they came from.

The mean income (1988) of respondents in North Defoe was £17,392; the mean male income was £19,956 and that of women £14,915. The ‘gender gap’ is less than in De Beauvoir where, on average, women earned £10,000 less than men; as a ratio the female annual salary was two thirds of men’s in De Beauvoir but nearly three quarters in North Defoe. Whilst relative gender inequality may be less in North Defoe, male income was roughly the same as the female income in De Beauvoir. This suggests that the two areas do have very different populations - even after controlling for factors like gender. Thirty two percent of males in Defoe earned more than £20,000 a year, compared to 18% reported by the GHS in 1986 for males with degrees. Fourteen percent of women earned more than £20,000 compared to the 1986 GHS figure of 4%. Nearly twice as many men in Defoe earn more than £20,000 compared with the GHS but three and a half times as many women. This may reflect the comparative advantages to women of the London labour market.

Table 7.19:
Respondent's Annual Salary North Defoe

Annual Salary	Male		Female		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Less than £10,000	6	11	11	19	17	15
£10-15,000	14	25	25	42	39	34
£15-20,000	19	33	15	25	34	29
£20-30,000	11	19	6	10	17	15
£30-40,000	2	4	0	0	2	2
£40-50,000	4	7	1	2	5	4
£50-60,000	0	0	1	2	1	1
More than £60,000	1	2	0	0	1	1
Total	57	100	59	100	116	100

Comparing the two areas it is apparent that those in De Beauvoir earn significantly higher incomes than those in North Defoe; whilst nearly one in three (29%) of respondents had an annual income in excess of £30,000 only one in twelve did in North Defoe (8%). The modal category in De Beauvoir was between £20-30,000 compared to £10-15,000 in North Defoe.

Given the large number of dual-earner households, respondents' income tends to underestimate their relative affluence, the joint household income probably gives a better indication. Taking both incomes into account, 44% of respondents had a household income of more than £30,000 and 17% of more than £50,000. In De Beauvoir nearly one in three households had an income in excess of £50,000.

Table 7.20:
Household income

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
Household Income	n	%	n	%	n	%
Less than £10,000	8	6	9	8	17	7
£10-15,000	12	10	22	19	34	14
£15-20,000	14	11	12	10	26	11
£20-30,000	22	18	37	32	59	24
£30-40,000	28	22	20	17	48	20
£40-50,000	7	6	9	8	16	7
£50-60,000	14	11	4	3	18	7
£60-70,000	9	7	2	2	11	5
More than £70,000	12	10	1	1	13	5
Total	126	100	116	100	242	100

Using the 1986 GHS for comparison, 31% of owner-occupiers with a mortgage had a household income in excess of £17,500; according to the data in Table 7.20, approximately 75% of respondents fall into this category. Unfortunately the GHS data does not give the percentages for household incomes above this figure but 69% of those households with a mortgage nationally have a household income of less than £17,500.

The relationship between employment sector and salary is indicated very clearly in the following table, which shows that high salaries are almost exclusively restricted to the private sector and, to a lesser extent, the self-employed. Nobody working in the public or voluntary sector earned more than £30,000 per annum.

Table 7.21:
Respondent's income by employment sector %

Income	Employment Sector				
	Public	Voluntary	Private	Self-Employed	All
Less than £10,000	12	-	2	31	11
£10-15,000	35	71	14	33	26
£15-20,000	29	29	29	8	24
£20-30,000	25	-	23	4	19
£30-40,000	-	-	13	6	7
£40-50,000	-	-	11	8	7
£50-60,000	-	-	4	4	3
£60 and over	-	-	5	6	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

This reinforces the impression that dual incomes are financially vital to most households in North Defoe but less so in De Beauvoir.

Income alone is not a good guide to standard of living; it needs to be judged against outgoings. The proportion of the household income required to service the mortgage is probably one of the best contemporary indicators of a household's standard of living. A rather crude indicator of 'income to housing debt' was therefore created. In De Beauvoir 37% of respondents had an outstanding mortgage debt¹¹ which was less than the annual household salary and only 11% had a debt of more than twice household salary. Despite its crudity as an indicator, this does suggest that this group is economically secure with a large margin against interest rate rises and other misfortunes. In North Defoe respondents did not have such a large 'margin of safety' with only 16% having an outstanding debt less than annual household salary, whereas nearly a third had a debt more than twice their annual household income¹². Taking respondents as a single group, just over half had an outstanding housing debt of between one and two times annual household income. Compared to the income multipliers used for calculating mortgagability almost all respondents were within a very comfortable margin of safety. North Defoe residents however were highly reliant on both partners working to maintain their economic security, far more so than those in De Beauvoir.

The relative economic security of those living in De Beauvoir is underlined by the fringe benefits they received; 37% lived in a household with a company car supplied (the national figure is approximately 12% (CSO 1989: 153) and a quarter had subsidized health care as an employee benefit (compared to 9% nationally (OPCS 1989: 139)). Seven percent had share options in their company. The North Defoe residents did less well in terms of fringe benefits although once again they did better than the population nationally; 22% had a company car in the household and 17% had private health care. The differences may well be accounted for by the different proportions working in the private and public sectors.

The disparities between the two areas in terms of income is also reflected in their ownership of capital. In De Beauvoir half of those questioned owned shares or unit trusts and, of these, 56% had owned them prior to the start of the Conservative government's privatization programme. Slightly more than two thirds had participated in privatization offers and 44% had continued to buy shares. Whilst the value of their shares was not ascertained, their involvement in the share market over a period of time indicates that, despite their relative youth, they could afford to invest in assets. Only 20% had no savings other than that tied up in their house.

Once again, respondents in North Defoe were less well-off: thirty percent owned shares and unit trusts. There was more ideological opposition to share ownership with about 70% expressing varying degrees of opposition to share ownership, particularly to privatization offers. About two thirds had some form of savings but most stressed that these were generally insignificant amounts and were, for the most part, emergency funds in a building society account. Many people stressed that their major asset was their house which, in 1988, was often quite a considerable one but has since become of more dubious worth. Whilst the area differences are important, it should not be forgotten that the household incomes of respondents in both areas were considerable, placing them at the top end of the income distribution.

Location

One of the main arguments for why service-class members should live in inner London, is that they belong to dual earner households where at least one partner is working in a city-centre job. Table 7.22 correlates respondent's place of work with that of their partner. It shows a highly statistically significant association.

Table 7.22:
Respondent's place of work by partner's place of work

Respondent's Place of Work	Partner's Place of Work				
	City	Central London	Else-where	From Home	Total
City	11	8	10	1	30(21%)
Central London	8	15	12	3	38(27%)
Elsewhere in London	7	9	37	3	56(39%)
From Home	3	7	2	6	18(13%)
Total	29 (20%)	39 (28%)	61 (43%)	13 (9%)	142 (100%)

Significance 0.000; Cramers V 0.30
Missing Data = 103.

In De Beauvoir, two thirds of both partners worked in the City or central London. This is not so strong in North Defoe where many more worked outside central London. It makes relatively little difference where in London they work as the significant factor is likely to be that both partners work in the same area and for those with children it is important to live near to where they work. There is a significance to be attached to working in the central London labour market as many of these jobs are specific to the centre and cannot be undertaken elsewhere.

Table 7.23:
Respondent's place of work

Respondent's place of work	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
City	29	24	18	17	47	21
Central London	40	34	28	26	68	30
Hackney	8	7	11	10	19	8
Other Inner London	14	12	20	18	34	15
Outer London	11	9	17	16	28	12
Elsewhere	4	3	3	3	7	3
From Home	13	11	12	11	25	11
Total	119	100	109	100	228	100

Missing Data = 17

Fifty eight percent of De Beauvoir respondents work in the centre of London compared to only 43% of those in North Defoe. Given that there is a fairly close association between where partners work, De Beauvoir respondents and their partners appear to be tied into the central London labour market.

Table 7.24:
Respondents and partners working in central London

	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Respondents ¹³	69	58	46	42	115	50
Partners	39	51	33	45	72	48
All households	108	91	79	72	199	87

In De Beauvoir, 91 % of households, and in North Defoe, nearly three quarters of households had at least one partner working in the centre; in many households, as we have seen, partners (where there was one) worked in similar locations. The need to live near the centre was therefore important and household location is likely to be constrained by this, particularly when both partners work and there are young children.

Conclusions

Nearly two thirds of those respondents whom I interviewed had fathers in Goldthorpe social class I or II with a further 11 % drawn from own account workers. Nationally, approximately a quarter of the service-class is self-recruited. This process of élite recruitment is reinforced by the pattern of educational attendance of respondents; 28% had been to independent schools (plus a further 11 % to Direct Grant schools); over eighty percent had received a higher education and a fifth of those had been to Oxbridge. For those living in De Beauvoir, the proportions coming from social class I backgrounds, going to independent schools and Oxbridge was even higher. The type of education received by respondents was also typical of élite British education, with a notable bias towards arts, humanities and the social sciences, and away from scientific and technological subjects. The importance of higher education, and the bias in the kind of higher education that they received, indicates some support for the claims made for the role of ‘cultural capital’ (Bourdieu 1984) or ‘the culture of careful and critical discourse’

(Gouldner 1979)¹⁴. Gouldner in particular stresses the shared nature of common value systems and links between this and the constitution of what he terms the 'New Class'.

The differences between the two areas, whilst in themselves significant, are less so than the differences between the group as a whole and the service-class nationally. This would appear to be the case 'across the board'. To some extent, this can be explained by occupational factors but again not conclusively. It is conceptually difficult to classify the service-class occupationally because the occupational classification systems developed to date appear to be oriented towards the classification of subordinate working-class jobs and are unable to cope with the growing complexity and diversity of service-class occupations. Nevertheless, it has been shown that respondents were largely concentrated in what Goldthorpe has termed the administrative and professional categories and that relatively few were in the higher technical and managerial categories. Even this claim is problematic; several respondents worked in the systems and software parts of the computing industry, of whom very few had a technical background and their functions were not easily classifiable between professional, managerial and technical. In their attitudes they tended to identify more with professional than managerial and technical workers. Another group that was hard to place was the public sector manager; 'new managerialism' has been a growing trend in the public sector and although much is made of the managerial ethos, the job essentially remains professional/administrative and the managerial content is largely restricted to co-ordinating the activities of other professional workers or meeting newly imposed budgetary targets. Respondents were employed either in central London (including the City) in various parts of the new 'international service economy' or elsewhere in London in the caring or 'expressive' professions largely, but not exclusively, in the public sector. The growth and importance of self-employment was also found across a range of occupational activities.

Respondents were considerably better paid than the service-class nationally, although in the case of those working in the public sector it was often the fact that there were two incomes contributing to the household that accounted for the relative affluence. Dual incomes though are probably more significant than this suggests. It seems likely

that the predisposition for there to be two earners is not solely a need for two incomes, and although for many this is clearly necessary it is not, in my view, a sufficient explanation. Most of the female respondents were established in careers of their own which were important sources of prestige, self-confidence and self-esteem. They were as well-educated as male respondents and whilst, overall, they earned less, they were considerably better-paid than professional women nationally. In this sense, living and working in the London labour market allowed them to achieve a greater financial and professional recognition of their training and skills than they might receive elsewhere.

The fact that in something like 90% of cases at least one partner worked in the central London labour market and, in 42% of cases, both partners did, is indicative of the importance of the central London labour market to respondents. This is not to argue that it is not possible for dual income couples to work and live outside London, but in many of these cases there seems to be a far greater difference in the status and income of the male and female occupations. London is clearly attractive to those with the high educational levels achieved by the respondents and commuting has a high disincentive when both partners are working. What is significant, and not yet satisfactorily explained, is why this group both came to, and more importantly remained living in, inner London. The high incidence both of single household and couples with dependent children amongst the survey population is undoubtedly significant.

Finally, this chapter has pointed to consistent and significant differences between respondents living in De Beauvoir and North Defoe. What respondents in both areas have in common as members of the service-class living in inner London is of greater significance; the internal differences merely serve to emphasise the importance of place in the self-actualization of identity amongst sub groups of the service-class. The differences between the two areas illustrate the division in the inner-city service-class between those employed in traditional professions, the City and higher administrative occupations, living in De Beauvoir, and those working in the expressive professions of the 'people processing industry' living in North Defoe. None of these divisions are exclusive and the boundaries are flexible and blurred but nevertheless it appears that

there are boundaries constructed both at the level of occupational difference and at the level of differences in norms and values.

This chapter has provided some of the basic demographic and socio-economic data to support this argument. In the next two chapters I look at the normative aspects of these value systems.

¹It might be presumed that as they got older they got married - perhaps as children arrived - but it might equally be the case that, since the figures refer to a younger generation who may be less attracted to marital relationships, that this reflects a changing social trend.

²Class I consists of Hope-Goldthorpe categories 1,2,3,4 and 7; Class II of categories 5,6,8,9,10,12,14 and 16).

³These classifications are compatible with Goldthorpe's class schema (Goldthorpe and Hope 1974); 'higher professionals' equates with Class I and 'lower professionals' with Class II. 'Self employed' refers to own account self employed workers and not to the professional self-employed who are included in Class I.

⁴It is interesting to note that many large employers stress that they are looking to recruit graduates who are educated to think rather than those with technical skills; ie: it is having been to university rather than what you studied that is often important.

⁵The discrepancy in the figures is presumably accounted for by the fact that those attending polytechnics and especially colleges of further education do not necessarily gain a degree.

⁶Calculation as used for calculating a Chi Square statistic.

⁷In fact, almost all of these were Law. Very few studied Accountancy as an undergraduate subject.

⁸It might also be suggested that given the period in which they were choosing their higher education (1960s/1970s) many respondents were making somewhat deviant choices to study what were perceived as more radical subjects at more radical institutions.

⁹ Class I: Higher Administrative and Professional; Class II: Lower Administrative and Professional; Class III: Routine Non-manual; Class IV: Small Proprietors; Class VIII: Otherwise non-classifiable.

¹⁰I often found interviewing respondents a strange experience as they were willing to talk about themselves and each other with a degree of detached interest that was at times disturbing.

¹¹It was assumed that little capital had been paid off; any subsequent mortgages were added to the initial mortgage.

¹²An outstanding mortgage debt of the equivalent of annual salary in 1988 would account for approximately 20% of household income after tax and national insurance.

¹³Percentage figure refers to percentage of respondents or respondents' partners respectively working in central London.

¹⁴The concept 'cultural capital' clearly involves far more than education and it is not intended to restrict it in any way.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

VENI, VIDI, VICI... ?

Introduction

This chapter develops themes raised in the previous chapter which dealt with the socio-economic characteristics of the survey population. It is broadly concerned with why respondents came to live in Hackney and what it is they find attractive about living there and what makes them stay. The next chapter is concerned with the consequences of living in an inner London area, and how this relates to political attitudes and behaviour.

Chapter seven demonstrated that respondents were, as a group, better paid and educated than the service-class generally. Occupationally, respondents were concentrated largely in the professional and administrative, as opposed to technical and managerial 'socio-economic groups' (SEGs). The occupational position of female respondents varied from national trends in a number of significant ways: the proportion of working women with children was considerably higher and most women worked full-time rather than part-time. Whilst female respondents' incomes were only approximately two thirds of male incomes, this differential was considerably more favourable than for female members of the service-class nationally.

The data in chapter seven suggest that the respondents whom I interviewed in De Beauvoir and North Defoe differed significantly in many of their demographic and socio-economic characteristics from the service-class as a whole, lending weight to the thesis that there is an identifiable 'fraction' of the service-class living in gentrified areas of inner London. It was not possible to make a clear distinction between the urban and non-urban elements of the service-class largely as a consequence of the research design which did not provide for a non-urban comparison group, although the use of other sources such as the GHS went some way to compensating for this. Compared to the service-class as whole, respondents were more likely to be second generation service-

class. This *suggested* that family and educational background might be important, not in any mechanistic manner, but in the acquisition of norms and values which were likely to predispose them to living in inner London. These norms and values are likely to be complex. One theme could include a rejection of part of their upbringing, for example the 'sameness' and blandness of living in one class suburbs. Another is likely to emphasize the universalistic and liberal values accrued through years of studying for educational credentials. The desire to live with people who have experienced a similar upbringing and express a similar complex of values is likely to be strong and this could be a major attraction of living in inner-city areas. The attraction of living in the inner-city is likely, in practice, to mean living in inner *London* and London's attraction as a cultural and administrative centre is probably a very important factor in deciding where to live; nevertheless *where* to live *within* inner London still remains a major and significant decision.

Chapter eight is therefore an attempt to develop this by probing the significance of the area to respondents. It is largely concerned with the reasons why they moved into De Beauvoir or North Defoe in the first place, why they have stayed there and the reasons why they might leave in the future. Are there commonly held attitudes, norms and values? If so, in what ways can they be related to living in the area and are they the same reasons that bring people to the area in the first place? Chapter nine develops some of these points by looking at the implications of living in Hackney for these service-class families; the quality of life and particularly the provision of services are examined. A major issue that emerges for most respondents with children is that of education. This is also related to political attitudes and views which are subjected to analysis at the end of chapter nine.

It may well be that commonly-held attitudes, if they exist, are a consequence of respondents' socialization and education which predisposes them to live in such areas of inner London. If this is the case, then it needs to be spelt out what these attitudes are and why they might predispose people to live in certain areas. It seems more likely

though, whilst such factors may have influenced people to live in such areas in general, that it was a range of personally specific contingencies, and indeed accidents, that influenced individual decisions to settle in De Beauvoir or North Defoe in the first instance. The fact of common residence and the influence of the specific locality may nevertheless be important in reinforcing such values and feelings and influence their decision to remain in the area. The question of the 'locality' and its place in the causal chain therefore becomes an important theme that is investigated in this chapter.

The data which provide the evidence for investigating these issues comes from two sources, the survey data which was used in the previous chapter, and material from a smaller number of in-depth interviews which were carried out a year later in the summer of 1989. The latter provide the kind of insights which it is not possible to gain from survey data, notably why people behaved in a given manner. Sayer (1984) refers to this as 'adequacy at the level of meaning'. The data is also a powerful reminder that, whilst there are trends and patterns, ultimately individual behaviour is subject to individual variation.

This chapter is divided into several sections, each of which deals with a specific set of issues around a common theme which is, very broadly, whether there is an identifiable set of values which can be associated with inner-city living. These issues are very different but what they have in common is their relationship to respondents' attitude to the locality: some derive from respondents' pre-existing attitudes and values which might have attracted them to the inner-city in the first place; others arise out of living in the area and are constraining on respondents' decisions about continuing to live there. Together however they constitute what it might be that is attractive to sections of the service-class about inner-city living. They are all derived from respondents' experience of living in either De Beauvoir or North Defoe as expressed to me through the survey data and the in-depth interviews.

My first concern is with how respondents came to the area, what influenced them to move from their previous residence, their reasons for choosing either De Beauvoir or North Defoe and finally what decided them on their present home. This involves a discussion of the alternatives which were open to them at the time and why they ended up where they are.

The second issue concerns how they 'feel' about where they live, both in terms of the general 'ambience' of the area but more specifically about the importance of their home in their lives. The main concern is with how they feel about it as a 'home' and what they see as the relationship between the 'inside' of the house and the 'outside' of the neighbourhood. Respondents living in Hackney experienced a sharp contrast between the relative elegance and affluence of their private lives on the one hand and the public squalor and deprivation of much of the surrounding environment, on the other. What is it that attracts people to this as opposed to the more ordered equality between internality and externality of, for example, suburbia or more established inner London areas like Hampstead? It may simply be that they cannot afford to live in one of the more 'glitzy' areas and have no wish to move out of London to suburbia. For most respondents however, it is not that simple and strong attachments are retained for the area even when their economic circumstances would permit an upward or outward move. The importance of the home though is attested to by the investment of time, thought and money in carrying out improvements to it. The reasons for this are examined in order to understand what it is about living in an old house in a deprived area that is apparently so attractive.

The third issue concerns the kind of interactions and friendship patterns that respondents have and how this relates to where they live. It has been argued in the previous chapter that this section of the service-class can be distinguished from the rest of the class by long years of education. Higher education plays an important role in structuring the transition from home and adolescence to adulthood and the friendships and values acquired whilst at university (or polytechnic) are likely to prove enduring.

Living in London is likely to be one way of maintaining a way of life learned at university. Savage and Fielding (1989) have pointed to the implications of a national system of higher education which serves to remove adolescents from their local upbringing and transplant them as adults into a national world, dominated in the UK by the London labour market. The other consequence of years of education is the acquisition of a stock of 'cultural capital' and one reason for living in London might be to benefit from the culture industries that are predominantly centred in the capital. How respondents spend their leisure, with whom they interact and under what circumstances become relevant questions. Finally, the role that the immediate locality plays in these interactions is of interest in understanding why people choose to live in given locations.

Lifestyle is a concept that is more often used in advertising and marketing than sociology but, as I argued in the first three chapters above, gentrification is by definition concerned with consumption (Warde 1991). Consumption also plays a central role in how members of the service-class 'see' themselves. The attraction of an 'inner-city lifestyle' (whatever that may be) is thus likely to be a prime factor in the definition of an inner-city fragment of the service-class. Gentrification, as we have seen, involves style both in the architecture of the housing as well as in a wider social and cultural sense. These, broadly, are the concerns of the rest of the chapter.

Style and attractiveness.

London, if it is to remain at the core of the international service economy, needs to retain its attractiveness to the highly skilled service-class as a place to work and live. The Economist, discussing the future of New York City, has this to say about its prospects:

"...New York has kept its lead in several of the businesses that are destined to grow fastest in the next century: advertising, corporate law, publishing, media (both print and broadcast), management consultancy, accountancy and public relations. " (The Economist 20 October 90)

These are the occupations which dominated the discussion in the previous chapter. The Economist goes on to argue that it is the quality of life in New York City which is threatening to drive these middle-class professionals out.

"There is an increasingly big caveat. The quality of life in New York has fallen below the level that middle-class people are prepared to tolerate. The rich can soar above it all. They send their children to private schools, travel by yellow-cab or stretch-limo, live in apartment blocks guarded by doormen and leave for beach houses in the Hamptons at weekends. But for families living on middle incomes, living in New York is like living in modern Calcutta or medieval London" (The Economist 20 October 90)

The attractions, or otherwise, of inner urban life therefore have direct implications for the health of a world city. London, despite all of its inner-urban difficulties, remains positively attractive not only to the very rich but also to many 'families living on middle incomes'; in the rest of this chapter I hope to show why. Inner-city gentrification permits a style of life that can still be considered positively attractive both physically and ideologically.

Pahl (1989) has argued persuasively that we need to pay attention not merely to the way that people are defined by structures but also to how they define themselves. In his argument, this is particularly important for 'non-subordinate' social classes - notably the service-class. Thrift (1989) has also argued that service-class culture is an important starting point for understanding the service-class. In his view, consumption and lifestyle are important indicators of self-identity amongst the service-class ("You are what you see"). Although this is over-emphasised, he perceptively identifies service-class aspirations with 'traditional values' which are subject to subtle, and not so subtle, manufacture and manipulation by the marketing industry. In particular, Thrift identifies 'heritage' and 'the countryside' as pre-eminent bearers of traditional values. These are manifested by appropriate images of country houses and their accoutrements (Barbour jackets; Range Rovers and so on). It is largely irrelevant whether people are buying 'real old country houses' or the carefully-crafted modern imitations heavily larded with 'the vernacular' since both, in their different ways, are seen as statements about how

their owners wish to be seen and to what they aspire (Thrift 1987; Hamnett 1972).

Oldness, or images of oldness, are important to a new class that is trying to emphasise its 'place' in the social structure; just as the industrial middle-class married and bought its way into the aristocracy in the early nineteenth century so the service-class is doing so in the late twentieth century (Wiener 1985; Thrift 1987).

Whilst concentrating on rural images of success and style, Thrift acknowledges that there is another subset of the service-class who identify with a set of metropolitan values, associated with urban life and gentrification. What matters most for those gentrifying the inner-city is that their houses are moulded from 'real history' and are not pale imitations designed by Barratts, Laings and their ilk (Jager 1986; Wright 1985a, 1985c). To this section of the service-class, modern versions of the old are not acceptable. This is nowhere more clear than in the gentrifying areas of Hackney and particularly in De Beauvoir where considerable store is put on 'historical authenticity'. This is however not simply about housing; it is, as we have seen, also about areas.

In both areas, despite their differences, conservation and preservation struggles have been central to the gentrification process both physically but also in creating a sense of cohesion amongst the incomers. The struggle to preserve its historical value has, in both areas, served to bring incomers together, at least in the early days of gentrification. In both De Beauvoir and North Defoe there is a sense of history and historical authenticity which newcomers have struggled to save from the 'philistinism' and narrow self-interest of local authorities, local residents and profit oriented developers.

The campaign waged by the De Beauvoir Association to save the 'Old Town' from comprehensive redevelopment in the 1970s was largely successful and resulted in a number of measures to enhance its environmental attractiveness. Many of the busy traffic 'rat runs' were cut off and the social and architectural significance of the area was acknowledged by its designation as a 'conservation area'. Many of the houses were listed as being of architectural importance. The founding of the De Beauvoir Association

was therefore a key 'moment' in the gentrification process; style and history were crucial arguments in winning the argument against redevelopment. By the late 1980s, the Association was clearly not the focus it had been which is, in many ways, a tribute to its success.¹

In North Defoe preservation and conservation struggles have also been part of the process of the area's gentrification but in rather different ways. Two major campaigns in the last decade have been to preserve Abney Park cemetery and to prevent Thames Water filling in the reservoirs for housing development. Both, in their different ways, have raised wider planning issues. In the case of the cemetery, the issue has been to maintain it in its present rather wild and overgrown form and to prevent, on the one hand its 'denaturing' back into a carefully manicured and organized cemetery or, on the other hand, its redevelopment into housing. The attractions of a wild urban green space may be lost on some of the older residents but reflect very clearly the concerns of a newer population to retain the links with the historical past (Daniel Defoe and General William Booth, amongst others, are buried there) but also to encourage urban wilderness areas in order to preserve the flora and fauna². Much the same argument is deployed against the proposal by Thames Water to fill in the reservoirs and build housing on them. In this case the argument also involves one of public access to another 'wild area' but again one with its historical attractions - for example, the spectacular architecture of the Victorian pumping station.

In both areas, conservation/preservation struggles have played an important role in the gentrification process and how the area *should* look. The contrasts are immediate and obvious, in De Beauvoir what is being preserved is an organized townplan, the style of individual dwellings and the architectural integrity of the whole area; in North Defoe it is the 'feel' of the area, its open spaces and what might be termed its communal resources. It is as if in De Beauvoir private spaces are the focus whilst in North Defoe it is public space. There is a danger though that this contrast can be oversimplified, as there is little, if any, green space in De Beauvoir to be preserved and little architectural

integrity in North Defoe. The attraction of De Beauvoir is its layout as a 'town', but one that is well provided with large and sunny private gardens. The green spaces are private and off the street. In Stoke Newington by contrast there is - by urban standards - almost a superfluity of green and open spaces: Clissold Park; Abney Park Cemetery; the reservoirs; Springfield Park and the Lea Valley recreational area. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that there is a different emphasis in attempts to preserve the environment. In De Beauvoir what is being preserved is above all the authenticity of a nineteenth century urban development and architectural style whilst in North Defoe it is a sense of community and a community resource. What is significant is that there *are* preservation issues, since they are the means by which the incoming service-class can impose its meaning on the physical area and impart what Castells has termed 'urban meaning' as a kind of stamp of cultural ownership (Castells 1983).

The preservation struggle is legitimated by continual reference to the significance of the nineteenth century heritage. Suitably sanitized, this history is now a positive attraction for choosing to live in De Beauvoir or North Defoe. Preservation and gentrification thus appear to be inextricably linked (Kasinitz 1988, Cybriwsky 1986, Wright 1985a). The fight to maintain the status quo and an image for the future is therefore firmly rooted in the expropriation of the past. It is also often the means whereby a class of people with this 'cultural capital' can come together to protect 'historical authenticity' and, at the same time, fight for *their* future. In other words, the fight for preservation is a focus for relatively isolated service-class people to unite together to promote their individual and collective interests. It is an indirect way in which a group of service-class individuals can identify both with each other but also with a series of values connected with history and heritage to give themselves and their class a 'place' in the urban social order.

Whilst these have been important issues for respondents and residents in general in the two areas, it may not necessarily account for why they came to these areas,

although it is likely to be the case that they wanted to live in an 'old house' in an area with a history (Wright 1985a)

Why They Came

No single reason emerged for why respondents had moved into the area. "By accident" was a common response, although frequently such people had moved again within the area. Oriana is a good example of someone moving out of rented accommodation, who stumbled on Stoke Newington by accident and has now chosen to move again in the area:

"Originally we came here in the late 1970s because we knew we wanted to buy somewhere to live and we had been looking at flats in West London and we began to realise that we might be able to buy houses with tenants on the ground floor; we somehow got the idea that we might be able to buy a house not a flat. A friend who was living in Islington mentioned that there were nice houses in this area and we came here by chance,. We walked over one day after we had been at a Rock Against Racism thing at Victoria Park which was about the first time that I had been to the East End; I can't claim any relationship with this area at all, it was like the back of beyond to me and I had never been anywhere near it and we saw this house in Hawkesley Road and it was three floors and there was nothing wrong with it. We had actually spent about a year looking at houses in Fulham and Wandsworth and they were always terrible - you would always go into a street and the one with stone-cladding was the one that you had the details of, there was always something really terrible about it and this house though it was dilapidated was a fine house, lots of space and it was incredibly cheap. Then it was £13,000 - in 1978. So we moved there originally and I think there was always the sense that it was not the greatest area in the world in terms of the upkeep of the buildings, and the streets were really dirty and nobody ever cleaned them but it was quite lively and it never seemed threatening or worrying and it was always nice to be near the park and then Ramsey got the job at the Rio and then it was useful to be in the area and we got more involved in the area and knew more people here.

We had no idea of staying here for long, it was not the idea of 'here I am going to settle and spend my life in'; we were quite young and without much cash and it was the idea that here we could have a nice house and we were just thinking the other day that we could not believe we had been here this long - we have been here ten years. I cannot envisage moving in the next five or six years or ten years.

TB: Were you working at the time ?

Oriana: No I was doing my graduate research, so I was on a grant and it was near Liverpool Street. The main advantage was cheap, economy but at the same time in an urban setting. We had been living in a rented flat in Fulham and part of me thought that living in the inner-city was quite interesting but part of me

was quite embarrassed about having to explain where it was as nobody knew it. I used to kick myself for hearing myself almost apologising for living here; I would go into a long explanation about that was where I lived and it was really very interesting and full of local colour whereas if you said something like Primrose Hill you wouldn't have to say anything with it. There was the sense that when you were talking to people from the same class or background that you were being somewhat rebellious or strange to be living in Stoke Newington, not just that you were poor.

TB: Might the suburbs have been an alternative ?

Oriana: No, never looked, no never thought of it.

TB: Why have you continued to live in the area, what are the attractions ?

Oriana: With the boom of prices around here we were able to move from the first house we had. We then had a second stage of looking for houses which was in 1982 and this was still the cheapest area in London. Our house had gone up a lot in value but we still couldn't afford to move out, but we could afford a much better house in the area and when we bought this house, it took several years to get used to the idea of having so much space and that you could live a fairly luxurious lifestyle in. The flats we had been living in before Hawkesley Road was like one floor of one of these houses and before that when I had been at school I had lived in a flat with my sister in Sloane Avenue Mansions which was two rooms which fitted into less than this kitchen; so from the age of sixteen for nearly ten years I had been used to really contained small spaces and it seemed really incredible that we had this house. From 1982 we didn't move in until 1983 because it was almost completely shelled by building work. From 1983 until Jamie's birth we put almost all our energies into doing it up. There were other things with our lives and jobs but we put an awful lot into the house, it has eaten up an enormous chunk of our lives almost without our realizing it. We certainly never got the sense of we are all right now and we can have the space to look around and think whether we want to be here. Since Jamie's been born you get all these other types of priorities, about where he has got a nursery, who he is getting to know which school he is likely to go to; I like the idea of him going to Grazebrook, I have got very good friends who live around the corner who I feel are good neighbours. I am used to around here, you can get most of the things that you want. I do get fed up sometimes - I don't like the idea that I would spend my entire life here. I have spent ten years of my life here and I don't want to wake up in thirty years time and be in the same house. Maybe when Jamie has finished at Grazebrook and if we have any more money than we have now, then we might move somewhere else.

TB: Why did you decide that you wanted to move from the original house ?

Oriana: I'd always convinced myself that it was nicer than it was; it backed on to some warehouses at the back, it was very dark, it didn't have a garden, it faced north-south rather than east-west so one side of the house tended always to be dark and one wasn't. The kitchen was quite small, things like that which you didn't notice at first since it was so much bigger than what we were used to. We had thought it was the best we could do but when we realized we could do better then we decided to move.

From being here at the time when the only restaurants were unpretentious Turkish kebab houses, when there were hardly any amenities put there specifically to cater to a wealthy clientele, everything seemed very much like living on the edge.

Fox's wine bar opened and it made everyone feel terribly reassured that they were

living in an up and coming area. Ever time you met someone in the park, or the street or somewhere they said ' have you seen there's a wine bar opening'; this ripple went through the entire area, it was almost like a sigh of relief that ' my god, you didn't put all of your money onto a dud and something is happening is changing'. Part of me felt quite resentful, almost a glamour of living somewhere distanced from that kind of world but at the same time it was much more convenient and much easier to pop out and eat something. When we were looking in 1982, we looked at houses in De Beauvoir and it always seemed much more grim and further away from any greenery. There were far more amenities here, Church Street had all the things you needed even before it was done up with the delicatessen, it had the Turkish delicatessen before that, the photography shop, Fox's, different Greek and Indian shops that had quite a good supply of fruit and vegetable whereas in De Beauvoir there wasn't something at the end of the road, you always had to go out in the car if you wanted to shop and you always bumped into people when you went to shop. It was much more a place, I still think that actually Finsbury Park, Stroud Green or down towards the Arsenal which are all a bit more expensive are not such nice places to be living. "

Respondents, generally, were asked why they had moved from their previous residence; Table 8.1 gives their responses³

Table 8.1:
Reasons for Moving from previous property

Reasons for Moving	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %	All no.
Bigger property	45	42	43	103
Change in household	34	28	31	73
To own 'own home'	31	26	25	62
Get on housing ladder	20	22	21	49
Wanted a garden	20	13	16	39
To trade up	16	13	15	35
To be nearer job	18	11	14	35
Changed financial circumstances	12	10	11	27
Leave shared house	7	9	8	19
To move to area	12	4	8	18
Change in job	8	7	8	18
Wanted freehold	9	4	7	16
Job location changed	10	3	6	15

There was no single dominant reason for moving into either of the areas, but strictly labour or housing market induced reasons such as 'trading up' in the housing market or moving for job related reasons were relatively unimportant. The single most important reason was simply that people wanted a bigger house; if they were already owner-occupiers⁴, they were moving in order to get a larger property. In practice, this

often meant they wanted to move out of a flat into a house, although in De Beauvoir, where many of the houses were quite small, it often meant moving to a bigger house. If they were not already owner-occupiers, their reasons were a combination of a desire to move into a space they could call their 'own' and a fear that they would be left behind by a property market that seemed (in 1988) to be spiralling upwards out of control⁵. As we have seen in the previous chapter (Table 7.5), 21 % of respondents in De Beauvoir and 34% in North Defoe had moved within the area they were now living on at least one previous occasion; in both areas about half had previously lived either in Hackney or Islington and three quarters of the residents had moved from within the inner London area. The data suggest that gentrification in Hackney, and especially in North Defoe, is largely by people moving within a fairly tightly defined area of the inner-city. Reasons for living in Hackney seemed to be largely social ('friends in the area'), aesthetic ('the style of the architecture'), economic ('the relatively low cost of housing') and often largely accidental. Although travel-to-work and cost reasons were not insignificant, they were rarely the deciding factors. What was clear was that whatever people's initial reasons for moving into the area, many liked living there and had moved again, often more than once. Having made the decision to move, one third of those in De Beauvoir and half in North Defoe decided to look only in those areas. A quarter of those now living in De Beauvoir had decided on the N1 postcode area (as had 8% in North Defoe) and, for the most part, ended up where they were now partly because it represented better value for money.

Hilary is a 'paradigm case' of someone who moved to De Beauvoir several years ago and has now moved again in the area, even though she and her husband could have afforded to move to a more expensive area

" Our reason for coming here was very specific, we were living in South east London and the year after we married my mother died ; my father was living in Northwest London and we needed to be in-between the two. So we literally took a map of London and stuck a pin in and found ourselves roughly in this neck of the woods and started to look around at houses and found that Islington was just a little bit too expensive and around here was still a bit expensive but better
TB: So the pin went into Islington ?

Hilary: That's right; so that's what brought us here, it wasn't that we knew anything at all about the area before but it was literally the need to be between two lots of families ... that's not very romantic... we didn't move to the Square first of all. We were in Ufton Road to begin with. We had always wanted an old house, having immediately we had married bought a brand new flat. We had always hankered after somewhere old and looking around here we found just the size house we needed at the time, which was a two bedroomed little terraced house with a manageable garden and, at the time we moved in, there were temporary road closures and they were later to become permanent so that was another attraction to the area - the thought that it was all going to become nice and quiet but that didn't come until after the public enquiry...

We moved into this house in January 1981... at that stage we had one child and we had a house where the bathroom was in the basement, it was a rear extension with the bathroom in the basement and it wasn't wildly convenient especially with a child throwing up in the middle of the night and mother having to run downstairs to the bathroom to clean up, so we were really just looking for somewhere a bit bigger. At that stage we were a little bit richer and we looked in Islington again and we saw houses that were a little bit too expensive and there you were paying for houses that had been done up. Then we happened to hear about this house because we knew the chap who was living here and he had only half done it up and the price reflected that and he was needing to sell.

TB: Did you look at other areas ?

Hilary: No, it was either Islington or here and this was, from our point of view, absolutely idyllic - just what we wanted, everyone aspires to a house in the Square I suppose. In the Square we look out at houses that are a long way away, the park, a playground - everything you could possibly want for the kids, no through traffic. The only busy time of the week is Saturday morning when 'The Waste' operates in Kingsland Road and then all the visitors to 'The Waste' park their cars here, but that's all gone by two or three in the afternoon. We've got this wonderful long back garden which is about 120 foot...it couldn't be better. Who needs a house in the country on a day like this!

Both Oriana and Hilary therefore moved into the area for largely accidental reasons, in Hilary's case because of the need to be equidistant between northwest and southeast London and for Oriana because they could buy a house with vacant possession in Stoke Newington whereas the most they could hope for in Fulham would be a flat or part-vacant house. Whilst there was clearly a wide variety of reasons involved in how people came to the two areas in the first instance, what is equally clear is that when they might have moved elsewhere they took a very conscious decision to stay largely because of the area.

One of the reasons that many people are attracted to inner-city living is that it involves minimal travelling time to work (this is particularly so when both partners are working). Although this reason was not often stated explicitly as a reason for living in Hackney, it was implicitly one of the reasons for living in inner London. Ross and Virginia for example had never heard of De Beauvoir when they started to look at houses in London.

"We were living in Bristol in 1971 and I passed an examination with my company and was invited to work in London; it was promotion-based and that is really the reason why we are here. Ginny once she learnt that I had been offered work in London, started to look for work in one of the London hospitals and I think at the time you had hopes of working at the London Hospital at Whitechapel. I knew I would be working near St. Pauls so that determined very approximately the part of London that we would start looking for a house in.

Virginia: And we had also made the very basic decision that we would not spend time or money travelling, that was our intention. We thought it would be better both from the point of view of the children as we didn't want to commute ... you know if you are working 9 to 5 and you have an hour, an hour and a half's travelling on top of that you are out 7.30 to 6.30 and we didn't want to be that far from home with our young kids, neither did we want to be paying that amount of money out so therefore we were thinking if we had to pay a £1000 more on the mortgage was that better than paying a £1000 on travel expenses, the home-help and things like that? We decided 'no', we would pay the bigger mortgage and pay out the money that way. So there was this dual thing about it and, having made this decision that we didn't want to travel, that we were prepared to pay more money for property...that was the policy decision we took. As Ross said, at the time we were looking, I had a firm job offer at the London. So quite literally we drew circles in the map centred on the London Hospital and where you knew your office was going to be.

Ross: By St. Pauls, and in fact we connected them by a straight line and bisected the line north and south of the River and said something within a three mile travelling radius.

Virginia: It hit Lambeth, it hit Brixton and we said that's not really on and where do we fancy living ?

TB: Why weren't they on?

Ross: I am not really sure that I could echo Ginny's confidence on that one, because we really didn't know much about London at the time.

Virginia: I think the Brixton riots were on ...having said that I was also brought up in Upper Norwood and therefore knew quite a bit about where 'Des Res's' south of the River were and, so that irrespective of where the Brixton riots were, I don't think I would ever have had Brixton as a high priority.

Ross: It was really the house that sold itself to us

Virginia It was the hall !... it may sound stupid, but we bought the house for the hall.. we realised it needed things doing to it...nobody in their right minds would

have bought it...if we had rejected this one we would have to have started from scratch. "

Not surprisingly, the property itself, particularly in the case of houses, was a major factor in determining where they bought ('We bought the house for the hall'). Table 8.2 indicates the main reasons given for why they bought their present property.

Table 8.2:
Reasons given for buying present property

Reasons for buying chosen property	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %	All no
Liked the property	85	77	81	190
Liked the area	45	62	53	125
Price	41	57	49	114
Journey to work	41	39	40	93
Liked the garden	46	25	36	84
Liked the street	28	35	31	73
Friends in area	18	45	31	72
Need to be in area	13	17	15	35
Social mix	8	17	12	28

Number of observations missing 11

The property itself was the single most important factor which was quoted by 81 % overall, but was rated rather more important in De Beauvoir than North Defoe. This is not intended to suggest that people elsewhere buy houses they dislike, but rather, given the estate agents' dictum that the prime factors are 'location, location and location', there is an emphasis here on the individual house and its attractiveness - particularly in De Beauvoir. Area and price were the next most quoted factors. The fact that the property, the area and the price were the three most quoted factors for deciding where to buy is unsurprising. The difference between the two areas however, is revealing: in De Beauvoir the individual property was quoted more often and price and area were given less importance. Respondents were more concerned about the house they bought, whereas in North Defoe, respondents seemed more interested in the area and in the price.

This impression is reinforced by the relative importance of other factors; in De Beauvoir the garden was given as a factor by 46% compared to 25% in North Defoe; in part at least this reflects fact that gardens tended to be large, south facing and therefore

sunny and that there were few public green spaces. On the other hand, in North Defoe respondents gave greater emphasis to communal factors such as having friends in the area and liking the street. Area factors and social contacts were relatively more important here than in De Beauvoir where the individual dwelling was the determining factor. This was reflected in the stylistic and preservational emphasis on the individual dwelling, whereas in North Defoe the preservational issues were more general to the area and its attractions were its public spaces.

It is revealing that, in both areas, a relatively low importance is given to the social mix of the area. This may reflect the difference between, on the one hand, a general statement of 'ideal preferences' for living in a heterogeneous neighbourhood (as opposed to a bland single class one) but, on the other hand, a recognition of the actual reality of living in a socially-mixed neighbourhood (Wright 1985a). This is expressed by Hilary, in the following terms

"We like the feeling that it is a mixed neighbourhood but, if we are truthful, we like the feeling that Hackney is a little further away... when you have the odd burglars and vandals then you are brought up short and think 'well this is Hackney'. But we do like the feeling that this is a very mixed community and there are people who have lived here for donkeys' years and can talk about what it was like forty or fifty years ago"

Richard, on the other hand, is very clear that the social mix in Stoke Newington was one of the main reasons why they came to live in Stoke Newington.

"There's a great social mix here, we've got an orthodox Jewish family that side, an English family two doors down who have become great mates. We've got a black family this side who we are very friendly with and an Anglo French family the other side up there, a New Zealander over there and there's no tension at all in the street. There's a mixture of French, English, Jews, Blacks, Asians and everyone rubs along very happily...I don't like to be set in an enclave of all middle-class or all anything because I think that as soon as you get all anything the same frictions start, you get the 'one upmanships', the silly, petty 'I've got to be better than the next door' ".

Brigid however, is sceptical about the attractions of living in a mixed area and the reasons that are often given for this, although her partner values living in an area where

people are 'not dissociated' and where he is not cocooned from deprivation. They were talking about moving to nearer where she works and he objected because he likes living in Stoke Newington and, if they were to move, he would want to find somewhere similar - to which she replied

"I don't know whether we can find another mildly decaying, vaguely socially mixed area which is not very pleasant to live in. We have other friends who live the other side of the High Street just off Brook Road, and they are no more social activists than we are but they have three kids who go to the local schools and they really are on very good terms with their neighbours, or their kids' neighbours and they genuinely do live a very mixed life and I am sure it does give them something whereas it doesn't for us. We aren't having our local Indian neighbours to dinner all the time".

There is therefore a gap between sentiment and reality, between the idea of a mixed community and the reality of living in a deprived inner-city area. For some living in such an area is a positive bonus, for others it is a nice idea as long as it does not impinge too closely onto their lives. In practice, the experience of social mix and polarization has not been such a happy one; Patrick Wright (1985) makes the point that the 'local colour' is fine as long as it is properly in its place and non-threatening. Social mix is a code for 'racially mixed' and this probably underlies the contradiction between fine sentiments and a sense of the vaguely exotic on the one hand (recall how Oriana used to describe Stoke Newington as 'interesting' to her friends) and the real tensions arising out of material deprivation and ethnic diversity on the other.

The differences between the two areas in terms of where one might want to live were the presence of friends in the area in Defoe and the desire to have a garden in De Beauvoir. Both were statistically significant and they neatly summarize the difference in outlook between the two areas and the relative differences in priorities of their residents.

The evidence reviewed so far has pointed to the factors that respondents gave for why they ended up in their current home in the research areas. Often, the original reason for moving to the area was accidental, or else economic ('more house for your money') but many of them became attached to the area and stayed there. Their reasons

varied but can be generalised as a liking for their home, the area and their social interactions in the area. Two central questions are left about why respondents chose to live where they do; firstly why they chose to live in inner London at all and secondly how much their decisions about where to live was governed by a desire to make money from their home?

The first question is crucial to the thesis, but is unfortunately one of the most difficult to answer. This is partly because of the survey design which merely asked if they had considered looking outside London and then only prompted for reasons in the case of those who had. The dismissive answers I received to this question reinforce the data - that most had never seriously considered moving out. But for those with children, pondering what to do about their education, many were considering a move out of London, as we shall see later.

Thirteen percent had considered moving out of London when they were planning the move into their present home (15% in De Beauvoir and 11% in North Defoe). Most of those who considered looking outside London, soon ruled it out for a combination of reasons such as a hatred of commuting (26%); both partners having a job in London (28%); a need to be near the job (12%); and, 34% who just wanted to be in London. These figures only relate to those who considered leaving and most of those stressed that it was a combination of factors usually involving all of the above reasons. The overwhelming majority of people (87%) had not considered leaving London, mainly for the above reasons. This comes out clearly in conversation with Hilary;

"TB: You asked who would ever live outside London. Did you ever consider moving out of London altogether ?

Hilary: We hate suburbia...it's all the same; we have got for example some relatives who live in Southgate and we get lost every time we go there. We both lived in suburbia for a large chunk of our lives and my husband just wouldn't commute, he would find it intolerable. I think that he finds fifteen minutes driving to work just about all he can cope with. We have toyed with the idea as we have got richer of the possibility of somewhere for the weekends. In fact I think that it was about this time last year that we put in an offer on a place somewhere in Cambridgeshire which I then vetoed because I could see that my husband was just going to take his work there every weekend and I would be packing up the

household on Friday night and I think we have really put that idea out of our heads".

Oriana had never considered moving out of London either and stressed the virtues of city living - for her, Stoke Newington was almost rural.

"Ramsey's sister lives in St Albans and other people we know live in what you know as the commuter belt around London and that had never appealed to me. I like living in a city and around here seemed like the inner-city, in a way, it did seem like the inner-city...I had always lived for the five or six years previously in the centre of London, big streets, traffic...this was our most rural."

This was part of the difficulty, most respondents simply had not considered moving out of London. By virtue of the research design, I was interviewing those who had decided to stay. Many of those with young children were beginning to reconsider the option of moving out of London but, as we shall see below, many of the same reasons for staying in London were still applicable. In the case of families with young children and both parents working, the need to live near work was stronger than ever which mitigated against a move out of London. Respondents lived in London both to be near work and the cultural facilities of London but also, overwhelmingly, because they could not envisage living elsewhere: it was where their friends were and where they had lived, for the most part, since leaving university and entering the labour market.

The second issue of capital accumulation is an interesting and complex one. In the quantitative data less than 10% of respondents said that they had looked at their housing moves mainly in terms of capital accumulation; rather more (just under a third) agreed it was a consideration, but the majority view was that they wanted a 'home'. Nevertheless how much their property was worth and how much it had appreciated in capital terms since they bought it, was something they were all very aware of. The rise in property prices had enabled many of them to upgrade their housing and had given them a capital asset far larger than they could ever hope to acquire through saving. At the same time many were quite embarrassed about the sums their houses were worth⁶.

Almost everyone stressed their main motivation for moving was because they needed a larger house or wanted to move from a flat to a house, or felt impelled to get into owner-occupation - very few of them mentioned capital accumulation as an explicit goal. Most of those who did not already own property felt that they had no alternative but to buy. The rise in property prices and the way in which the property market in the UK is skewed towards owner-occupation, left them feeling that they might be condemning themselves to live in a second class property market for ever if they did not make the move into owner-occupation. About 80% of the first-time buyers gave these 'rational' economic reasons and 15% said that they wanted to be able to have more control over their domestic 'space'. Given the awareness of how property in general in Hackney had risen in price over recent years and the alacrity with which the majority of respondents could tell you what their individual property was worth, I am cautious about accepting at face value the claims that their motivations were strictly, or largely, non-financial. Whatever their expressed views on the subject, most respondents had made considerable financial gains from their homes (see Table 8.3).

Table 8.3:

Initial cost of property (£000's) and current estimate of property value (£000's)

Top line = initial cost; *bottom line* = *current value*

Length of residence	House		Flat		House	Flat
	De B	N D	De B	N D	All	All
Under a year	157	91	85	57	128	74
	191	128	106	72	165	93
1 to 3 years	108	67	55	45	84	51
	190	127	88	102	165	95
3 to 5 years	61	53	27	31	57	30
	184	153	80	77	170	78
5 to 10 years	51	33	28	-	46	28
	192	137	83	-	176	83

The bottom row of figures, in Table 8.3, indicates respondents' estimates of the current worth of their property; these seem fairly consistent for houses, although the current estimated value for flats shows a wide range of variations depending on when they were bought. What is consistent is the gain which was particularly high for those who had bought between one and three years previously. The percentage gain, in Table

8.4, was calculated separately taking into account the amounts that had been spent on improving the property⁷.

Table 8.4:
Percentage mean gain

Length of residence	House		Flat		House	Flat
	De B	N D	De B	N D	All	All
Under a year	15	37	26	26	24	26
1 to 3 years	56	74	60	138	67	99
3 to 5 years	154	159	162	141	156	147
5 to 10 years	186	230	197	-	198	197

These figures show that the capital gains which respondents have made from owner-occupation have been substantial, far more than they might have expected from savings out of income. The major discrepancy between the two areas is flats which had been bought between one and three years prior to the survey. During this period flat conversions 'took off' and de facto became the only affordable 'starter housing' and it was this that accounted for their spectacular rise in value. On the whole, such flat conversions were not carried out in De Beauvoir but were more common in North Defoe, which accounts for the rather large gains made in flat values in North Defoe.

The gains are broadly compatible with those reported by the Nationwide Anglia. Table 8.5 indicates price rises from a 1983 base of 100 for London as a whole and Hackney.

Table 8.5:
London and Hackney price rises for all property

Year	London		Hackney	
	£	index	£	index
1983	35860	100	29888	100
1984	42629	1119	34049	114
1985	48880	136	40465	135
1986	55999	156	51357	172
1987	75501	211	75055	251
1988	80827	225	73175	245

Source: Nationwide Anglia tables supplied to the author.

The figures in Table 8.5, are not weighted to take into account different mixes of property but give some guide for purposes of comparison. Despite this shortcoming, the increase in prices for Hackney 1983-8⁸ is broadly similar to that enjoyed by the

respondents and is slightly greater than the increase for London as a whole. The national increase between 4th quarter 1983 and 4th quarter 1988 would have seen the same index standing at 204 (calculated from Nationwide Anglia 1988). Although there is debate about how these gains should be calculated⁹, there can be little doubt that as a capital asset domestic property in Hackney has shown large increases, which have been rather greater than the rise in house prices in the rest of London and the country as a whole.

Owner-occupation and the general long-term rise in property prices has meant that it is now largely taken for granted that one makes money out of owner-occupation. This is distinguished from making 'super profits' through speculating on areas that will rise faster than the London and South East property market in general. Despite what they *said*, my impression is that most respondents expected to end up with a large capital asset and this was seen as one of the not unimportant consequences of buying *and doing up* an old property in an area like Hackney. In the interviews some respondents were quite open about this and it is possible that they were merely stating explicitly a point of view that most of the others held implicitly. Ross and Virginia were very aware of the potential gains to be made in the London housing market and this was a reason for their making the move from Bristol:

"We saw the whole move to London as a money-making opportunity...it was a promotion but also if we were going to plough money into the house, then we saw that the opportunity of living in London had lots and lots of advantages but one was house prices, that housing was one of the most sensible capital investments that you can make and therefore that we reckoned that we would probably be in London for fifteen to eighteen years but then we would move out. Never having actually saved during that eighteen years we would have the chance for capital accumulation, so again there was that fairly calculating thing when we were looking at house property lists. It had to be convenient, it had to have minimum travelling times, it had to be the right size - we didn't plan to move again. Again from the snotty point of view that this time the company would pay everything and that another time we would have to pay it all so we didn't want to move again, having moved and when we sold we wanted to have had the opportunity for maximum capital asset..."

TB: Were you looking therefore for a rundown area that was likely to appreciate faster than average ?

Virginia: No we weren't that clever, no but we certainly looked to buy in at the top of our price range but at the bottom of the range in the area and therefore had the potential to climb. We certainly looked for a house that, if we improved

it, would capital appreciate and we rejected a house that we went to look at in Greenwich because the previous owners had done exactly that to it. They had done it badly, that terrible stuff they put on the roof.

Ross: It was quite a clinical operation because my company allowed me so many days to come and find a place, I could have up to a week's special leave, so I took Ginny along to London...our search centred around Highbury, this house here and then we had one in Greenwich and one further down south. I know there was a place near Finsbury Park which we just looked at and ran away from...

Virginia: We had five or six properties to view of which two were hot favourites, this was one and the one in Greenwich was the other...we didn't know De Beauvoir...De Beauvoir was a non-existent concept. All I can remember is having a Bristol estate agent saying to me 'Oh, you are not going to 'Flash Hack' are you?' and someone making the comment that NI put 10% on the house price - NI was OK and E8 wasn't; no we certainly weren't driven by the gentrification of De Beauvoir or De Beauvoir being a lesser Canonbury."

This was a commonly held view, that one's home was a major asset and that investment of time and money in it was partly justified on these grounds since many respondents when asked if they had any savings, would point around them and say 'apart from the house, no'. What justified it also in their terms was partly that they might have taken a risk (as Oriana expressed it 'put our money on a dud') but more significantly that they had put time and energy into it, thus any capital appreciation was justified (earned) and not just the result of idle speculation.

'Just as we wanted it'

"The house was covered in Artex when we bought it and we spent a lot of money doing it up just as we wanted it".

The desire to live in an old house emerges as a powerful reason for living in the inner-city; most of the in-depth interview respondents talked about the significance of 'oldness' (Wright 1985a; Jager 1986).

Richard owns a business which has become increasingly successful over the last few years. He moved into his present house 3 years ago, having previously lived in a modern block of flats in the area. Prior to that he and his wife lived in Dalston for about

five years. Despite having enjoyed living in a modern purpose-built flat, he couldn't stand the idea of living in a modern house:

"It's too rigid, there's something about houses whose walls which are off key; they are much more human. It's settled, it's been here, things have happened to this house. The people that were before us, had this house for twenty five years; they had a family here and the house reflects that. It was a happy family, I think that's very important. It's all very mystical and hard to prove but I can walk into a house and some houses I have been into on this street and I wouldn't buy. It can be identical but it doesn't feel right. I knew I was taking on various problems here that were going to cost money but it didn't bother me and there is something about the feel of this house that I had an empathy with and that's why I bought it. There's something my lawyer does not understand about me; when we bought this house he did the conveyancing for me and he said 'you've got to sell it, you've got to sell it straight away' because he thought I had got a very good price and he thought I could sell it immediately and make a large profit and buy somewhere nicer. He has known me for fifteen years and he still doesn't understand the way that Steph and I operate. I have a lot of friends who live in areas like Battersea, De Beauvoir and even Islington and even though there's a slump in property all they talk about is the price of their property and how much it's worth. Round here it doesn't really happen. Property in this street doesn't move very often. We are the newcomers we've been here three and a half years, David's been here twenty five, the people two doors up moved in just before us; Colin and Nicole have been here fourteen years, the woman the other side of the road, she's been here just over seventy six years. It's unusual in that respect"

Richard was at pains to stress how much the social relations of the area meant to him, how important it was that the house had a history and how little he was concerned about making money out of it. Architecture, the layout of the streets and houses, and 'ambience' combine, as it were, to give a sense of meaning both to the locality and to how the individual fits into it¹⁰. This feeling was strong in both De Beauvoir and North Defoe; what matters is how the area 'feels' and how their house 'looks', and this has some bearing on self-image ('you are what you see' - Thrift 1989) and how 'people like us' live in the inner-city doing up an old house (Jager 1986; Wright 1985a; Zukin 1988). Unsurprisingly, respondents were not only keen supporters of conservation and preservation movements in their areas but also had invested considerable amounts of time, thought and money in their homes.

"People like us live in the inner London suburbs really... We wanted to live somewhere that was mixed and various and vibrant; full of young middle-class people doing places up"

'Doing it up' was therefore a major activity. Sixty four percent of respondents in both areas had undertaken significant improvements¹¹. Table 8.6 indicates the main kinds of improvements that had been undertaken:

Table 8.6:
Improvements

Nature of improvement	Number	De B %	North Defoe%	% Total
Redecoration throughout	95	43	36	39
New Kitchen	94	43	35	39
New Bathroom	92	39	37	38
Other major improvements	86	34	37	36
Damp-proof & Wood Treatment	74	26	36	31
Installing central heating	71	25	34	29
New/major repair to roof	68	30	26	28
Major structural work	61	25	26	25
Rewiring	57	22	25	24

A wide range of improvements have been carried out. What is particularly interesting is that a relatively small proportion were functionally or structurally necessary. Only 19% of respondents had conditions attached to their mortgage offer requiring them to carry out improvements and less than half of these had part of the advance retained until they had carried out the work to the mortgage lender's satisfaction. Retentions were three times as frequent in North Defoe as De Beauvoir (13% against 4%), although this was partly compensated by a larger number in De Beauvoir who were required to make improvements although no money was retained. Three-quarters of those living in houses had undertaken improvements compared to only a third of those living in flats.

On the whole therefore, the houses/flats being bought were in reasonably good structural condition. An 'index of improvement' was constructed on the basis of the number of improvements undertaken by each respondent. Approximately 10% of respondents had almost totally 'gutted' and rebuilt their property, a further third had carried out more than five of the improvements (as itemized in Table 8.6) and about a

third had done nothing significant to the property since buying it. Nearly twice as many people in De Beauvoir had completely 'redone' their property compared to North Defoe, although the rate of mortgage retention suggested that property there was in better structural condition. Despite this, considerable sums of money had been expended on improvements.

Table 8.7:
Amount spent on improvements

Amount spent	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Less than £10,000	36	61	49
£10 to £20,000	25	32	29
£20 to £30,000	19	5	12
More than £30,000	20	1	11
Total	100	100	100

The variation shown in Table 8.7 between the two areas is quite remarkable; 64% of those who had made improvements in De Beauvoir had spent more than £10,000 compared to 38% in North Defoe. Twenty percent in De Beauvoir had spent more than £30,000. The amount spent also varied according to the type of building they lived in, with over 90% of those living in flats having spent less than £10,000 compared to 60% of those living in houses having spent more than £10,000. This is hardly surprising but it does point once more to the large sums being spent by respondents who lived in houses.

Whilst there was clearly a high degree of involvement, time and 'personal capital' invested in doing up the home, relatively few respondents had done much of the work themselves in any real sense. Pahl (1984) has suggested, on the basis of his intensive study of working-class homeowners in the Isle of Sheppey that 'domestic self provisioning' is an important aspect of homeownership. By this he refers to the use of domestic labour to carry out tasks that are otherwise paid for. In particular, he refers to the widespread occurrence of 'DIY' in home improvement. This, in his account, is a major source of capital accumulation and is a point echoed elsewhere by Saunders

(1990); 'sweat equity' (ie the use of one's own labour power is seen as a route to capital accumulation) which would not normally be possible via the capitalist labour market.

Very few respondents used their own 'sweat equity' to increase the capital value of their home. Just over a quarter claimed they had undertaken the work or a large part of it themselves. The figures are somewhat misleading because they include those who basically managed the operation and co-ordinated the work of tradesmen carrying out specific tasks. Of those who claimed to carry out the work themselves, most of these were in North Defoe who were largely driven by economic necessity. This group was less than 10% of those undertaking improvements; very few people had done the work themselves either from financial necessity or for the self-satisfaction.

One hundred and forty seven respondents had undertaken improvements but only 41 people had borrowed money to pay for them. In both areas large amounts of money had been spent on improvements and much of it appeared to be paid for without recourse to borrowing. This might suggest this was money that might otherwise have been invested. The key question then is why did they spend so much money and time on carrying out the improvements?

When respondents were asked why they had carried out improvements, nearly three quarters said to 'make it generally more habitable'. They were then asked for more specific reasons and the following responses were elicited (it was possible for a respondent to give more than one reason):

Table 8.8:
Reasons for doing improvements

	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Improving the attractiveness	61	47	54
Maintaining the structure	38	49	44
Providing more living space	21	17	19
Fulfilling mortgage requirements	14	17	15
Adding to the capital value	14	9	11

It appears, particularly in De Beauvoir, that aesthetics and a sense of style are important reasons for carrying out improvements. Nevertheless we have seen the most frequent kind of work was complete redecoration and the installation of new bathrooms and kitchens, which might be seen both as functional and as having little to do with the house's historical appeal. This apparent contradiction has been noted elsewhere in the gentrification literature; Moore (1982) and Jager (1986) have both noted an emphasis being placed on the 'period' nature of the dwelling from the outside which is often in direct contrast the modern, and sometimes modernistic, nature of many of the internal improvements. There is though a significance to the changes that are made to the 'functional' areas of the house, notably the kitchen and the bathroom where the style is often modern and functional, and those that are carried out in the 'living areas' where great effort was often expended on re-installing fireplaces, sash windows and elaborate plaster work.

This is probably deliberate. Firstly, such people not only value the labour-saving efficiencies in well designed modern kitchens but they also appreciate the ergonomics and functionality inherent in much contemporary design. Secondly though it is meant to be seen as a tribute to their historical and stylistic sensitivity that they can blend the two together. Thirdly, it also reflects the contradictory nature of the service-class as a modern (or postmodern) class but one whose sense of identity is partly drawn from the symbols of a past age; they may work in the most modern sectors of the economy but seek to give some meaning to their lives through the consumption of symbols of a past age (Thrift 1989). The juxtaposition of functionality and style both between the interior and the exterior but also within the interior reflect the contradiction within the service-class between the role they play in the economy and how they might wish to be regarded socially.

This is not to suggest that many of the improvements were not to secure the structural integrity of the property; but all of the respondents quoted so far have stressed that what they were attracted to was the architectural and lifestyle features of old houses

and, to some extent, this may resolve the connection between capital accumulation and the attraction of 'oldness'. For Geraldine, one of the attractions of De Beauvoir/Islington is the housing style, although she throws an interesting angle on the question of houses both as a source of capital accumulation and as an aesthetic object to be lived in and admired.

"Another interesting thing is why this generation of mine is so fascinated by its original features and doing up old houses; I suppose it's a kind of post-modernism really a kind of rejection of the new. In the culture that I grew up in East London, people were doing it all the time [doing up houses]; you can't restore a house in the suburbs in the sense that we can, like put in a marble fireplace like the one that was here originally but you can do them up. My parents spent the whole of my childhood doing up houses and selling them. Jonathan's parents even more in the country did up houses, in their case old houses in the country and sold them. And that's how they made their money, they have never been rich but they made far more money from that than they ever made from Jonathan's father's job. So for our generation, I think we have grown up with this sense that property is a kind of task really and a way to make money just as important as doing a job in a sense. I think there is also an element of fashion, I find it vaguely absurd sometimes all these young people doing up Victorian slums so that they look like the next Victorian slum, with our mahogany loo seats - we are not buying any more because of the rain forests. This kind of obsession in getting your house to look like it should is just so that other people can come and look at it and admire and that I find really weird"

Doing up old houses is perhaps a 'task' but it is one which legitimates both making money and making it comfortable and attractive.

Whilst respondents clearly wished to live in houses that were attractive and comfortable to them, they wished to maximise the capital value of them. As Zukin has demonstrated artistic and cultural values can be a useful smoke-screen for more blatant financial motives (Zukin 1988). Whilst housing is clearly the best investment most people are able to make, it has to be seen as a by-product of something that is essentially a use-value (ie a place to live). Many of the advantages of property ownership stem from this (for example, tax relief on mortgage payments and exemption from capital gains tax on sale) which is an encouragement to maintain the concept of housing as primarily a use-value. Improvements should be regarded in this light both as something intensely personal but also as a task or duty. Thus if capital appreciation accrues it is

something that can be justified both in terms of not only the physical labour but also the conceptual labour that was involved as well as perhaps the risks of putting money into gentrified property. Thus style is the medium by which a class that doesn't like to talk about money in too personal terms is able to justify the capital appreciation it has made.

Once again however, individual accounts point to a more sophisticated understanding of why people like their homes and why they have spent so much time, energy and money on doing them up.

"I would hate to have a [modern] Georgian town-house; I could never see myself living in that sort of thing because it was something that was imposed upon me, there's something about [a north London terrace] that was here before me. There's something about the way it's laid out and the way it's built that I find empathetic, I don't find empathetic the imposition of Barrett's 'Georgian style' on me. Why can't they just build something new that is designed, why are they harking back? If it's so good, I'll go and get another one. This one was a risk, we originally moved in and it was 'artexed' all over; the original doors had gone off here (between the front and rear living rooms TB) and I can't find any to put back on and there's a 'Georgian door' on the front which is a good six inches shorter than it should be and there were certain abominations here but I liked the style of the houses and what I would like to do is put back into it some of what was missing. I know it's silly but there's some horrible bubble glass over the front door, that's coming out tomorrow. Steph's found a glass engraver around the corner that has just made some plain engraved glass, cut out in the middle with thirty five which is the number; it's very plain, it's not original but it will fit and it will look nicer than what was there. I can't see myself imposing or fitting together with a brand new house in the same way.

Part of the attraction of living in an old house in an old area is that you can restore and improve the property, thus guaranteeing some capital appreciation whilst appearing to be altruistically loyal to a sense of historical and stylistic preservation and conservation. It is perhaps this professed innocence of economic self-interest yet acute awareness of the economic worth of all that one does, which typifies the urban service-class and distinguishes it from the vulgarities of suburban life where the value of everything is written on a brand new price tag.

'People like us'

"When you see an old middle-class couple, you know it's someone's parents visiting them"

The remarkable homogeneity of respondents as an age group, clustered tightly in their late twenties through to their early forties, is striking. The comment above however also gives an indication of the sense of exclusiveness felt by respondents who, despite the fact they are a minority group and talk (in abstract terms at least) about liking social mix, are largely 'blind' to other social groups. They do not know them, don't interact with them and tend to forget they exist.

"It seems almost over-populated with people with young kids; if you go the Park its almost a nightmare of clonedom. Clissold Park used to consist of all sorts of people from different cultures and communities now it is all 'people like us' ".

Of course it isn't; as has been demonstrated, many of the service-class do not have children and many of the non-service-class majority do still use the Park. Oriana however, tends to see only people like herself, when she has kids others like her have kids and they have a tendency to make themselves highly visible, so she only sees 'clones' of herself when she takes her children to the Park. It's not just that her vision is selective but, as Dickens (1988) points out, the middle-class are remarkably successful in casting 'civil society' in their own image.

This is partly, of course, a result of middle-class spending power and the changes that have taken place in Stoke Newington Church Street are witness to this - the estate agents, restaurants, women's gyms, delicatessens, art shops and so on. It is though more than this, it is about its ability to impose itself and its values on an area. Therefore, whilst Oriana's view of who is having children is clearly coloured by her own situation, it is nevertheless true that she and her kind have largely taken over the Park at certain times of day - lunch time and late afternoon - and one might be forgiven for thinking that this was any middle-class suburb. It is also, as she points, true that increasingly her friendship circle is comprised of people with children.

As we have seen, it is important to Oriana that it isn't a middle-class suburb but, equally, she is sceptical about those who think they 'live the social mix' - including her partner who worked for many years at 'The Rio' (the local 'community' cinema).

"Ramsey thought he interacted with others; the Rio originally thought it was serving the needs of a mixed population but actually they had to realise that this was not their audience. They did much better when they realised who it was: middle-class people aged between 20 and 40".

De Beauvoir and, more recently, Stoke Newington have become established as middle-class enclaves and the middle-class are an important part of the local structure, not least as consumers. It is precisely because both North Defoe and De Beauvoir have become gentrified areas, where other people like themselves live, that respondents continue to be attracted to living there.

Oriana originally moved into the area for accidental reasons and most of her friends lived elsewhere. Now, as she has said, many of her friends live in the area and if they moved away she would 'be in a bit of a crisis'. Brigid, on the other hand, has almost no contact with her neighbours and little time for the attractions¹² of living in a socially mixed area

"living in comparative opulence next door to people living in comparative poverty, [it] just makes me feel guiltily uncomfortable rather than wonderfully identified"

Nevertheless she finds that most of her friends live in the area:

"A lot of people that I have, by and large, long term contacts with live within a mile but they are contacts made at university or subsequently. Most of these people just happened to have moved here and for that reason others of us have arrived"

This reinforces the point made earlier, which is that people often moved into the area by accident in the first place, but they have subsequently stayed and friendships have often been an important reason for staying. Many people, both in the original interviews and the subsequent in-depth interviews, stressed that they preferred to live

somewhere where they were on good terms with their neighbours and knew people in the area but at the same time were left alone. For the most part however, their real friends lived in similar areas elsewhere in inner London. Richard puts it like this:

"People don't turn a blind eye in this street, but they don't get involved in your day to day business; it's a nice balance"

They want a degree of social closeness without physically being too close; this is the attraction of living in a multi-class area where immediate neighbours are often not likely to be people they will have too much in common with.¹³

Jim was, until relatively recently, heavily involved in local political activity as was his partner. Although he is now more settled into a domestic routine and works from home, their friends still stem largely from their days of political activity and live in other similar inner-city areas.

"If you are interested in political activity there is far more of it in the inner-city than elsewhere, than Enfield for example. I don't think there's anything that would have attracted us to moving out of the centre of London except that possibly one might have been able to find somewhere to live more cheaply but there was the whole question of our friends and our social network. You could actually get to see people without making gargantuan journeys and so we wanted to stay within shouting distance of most of our friends, a lot of whom were Hackney or Islington based and those who weren't who we knew through work or the union, they almost all lived in the inner-city in one way or another be it in Wandsworth or wherever, but it was possible to meet them for a drink or whatever without too much difficulty. I think we would have been very much deterred by that aspect of it together with not only the practical feeling that we were cutting ourselves off from our friends but also the feeling that there's a 'living death' out there.

Friends tend not to live in the area but we have a lot of friends we have made who live here, either because they are our neighbours; it's quite a neighbourly area and working at home is a good way to get to know the neighbours because you are always on the street. Or people we know through political activities since we have been here, although neither of us is now as politically active as we have been and through the nurseries. The nurseries generate quite a powerful nexus. We have got to know a few people from the nursery and those that we have to know adult to adult is through enjoyment of each other's company but there are more people who we know one way or another because they have their children at the nursery and who we have to know because they are involved in nursery politics."

In De Beauvoir there is even greater interaction through the children and childcare networks and parents have often got to know each other through the 'nanny network'.

"We've made masses of friends, though in the last few years since the De Beauvoir Association hasn't really had anything to do we have found that our friendships have changed. We tend to be more involved in people in the area with children who we see whereas in the old days we were more involved with people who were very active in putting through the road closures. This may change again if we have a fight on our hands for more roads¹⁴.

A lot of the people we now know who have got children came in later than that earlier wave. The people we were friendly with are now quite elderly and one or two have now moved out of London and others have got quite grown up children who we are now using for baby-sitting but I suppose the friends of ours who have got children in the area are not our original contacts.

If we see people at the weekends, it's more seeing the people who are the middle-class professional people, the arty people or whatever you like to call them - the poets and journalists of the neighbourhood"

The interview data therefore suggest that interactions with similar people, 'people like us', who are assumed to live in the inner-city is a strong reason for living in De Beauvoir and North Defoe. This is generally supported by the quantitative data on how people spend their leisure time which, given the high level of economic activity, is the only real time that most respondents are in the area¹⁵. Table 8.9 gives the data for how respondents defined their major leisure activity. The main problem with this data is that actually most people undertook a range of activities and this does not appear in the responses:

Table 8.9:
Respondents' major leisure activity

Main Leisure Activity	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	Total %
Home centred	31	27	30
Socialising	19	20	20
Other	20	18	19
Reading	12	17	14
Music	14	6	10
Relaxing	4	12	8

Table 8.9 shows that one fifth of respondents in both areas gave their main activity as 'socializing' which reinforces the argument advanced above that a major reason for living in the inner-city (or more specifically, inner London) is social. It suggests that the existence of other such people with whom they spend significant amounts of time, even if they do not live in the immediate area, is important to them. Respondents were also asked how often they 'went out' ie spent time out of their home in non-work time.

Table 8.10:
Frequency of 'going out'

Frequency	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	Total %
More than twice a week	37	50	43
Twice a week	29	16	24
Once a week	19	15	17
Less than once a week	15	19	17

Table 8.10 shows that in North Defoe half of all respondents went out more than twice a week. The variation in how often people went out is largely accounted for by whether or not they had children. Table 8.11 illustrates this.

Table 8.11:
Frequency of 'going out' by children

Frequency	Respondents with children %	Respondents without children %
More than twice a week	19	60
Twice a week	20	25
Once a week	26	11
Less than once a week	34	4
Total	100	100

This indicates very clearly that the presence of children had a very significant impact on how 'home-centred' respondents were. There was an area difference here with some evidence that having children has more effect on patterns of socialization in North Defoe than in De Beauvoir. Those without children in North Defoe tended to go out more often and those with children less often than respondents in De Beauvoir. This is possibly accounted for by relative differences in wealth; respondents in De Beauvoir were more likely to have a nanny or to be able to afford to hire a baby-sitter. It is likely

therefore that children have a major impact on leisure activities, as we can see (Table 8.12) if leisure activity is controlled by whether there are children in the household.

Table 8.12:
Respondents' major leisure activity

Main Leisure Activity	Respondents with children %	Respondents without children %
Home centred	42	20
Socialising	10	27
Other	15	22
Reading	18	12
Music	11	10
Relaxing	6	9
Total	100 n= 103	100 n= 141

The presence of children in the household then has a major impact on the kind of leisure activities; those with children being mainly involved in home-centred activities, especially if reading is included, whilst those without children are more likely to socialize. The benefits for the latter group of the inner-city are perhaps obvious, the presence of like-minded people and, crucially, places to eat. Most respondents ate out frequently and this appears to have been a major form of socialising. Eating out may appear a somewhat odd indicator of social behaviour, but it is an important focus of social interaction amongst the service-class and is also dependent on the availability of suitable reasonably cheap and convivial eating places. Both Stoke Newington and Islington abound in such restaurants. Forty five percent of respondents ate out at least once a week; more people tended to eat out in North Defoe than in De Beauvoir and this is partly a function of the area¹⁶ but mainly of whether they had children.

Table 8.13:
Frequency of eating out controlling for children

Frequency of Eating Out	Respondents with children %	Respondents without children %
At least weekly	25	59
Fortnightly	16	19
Monthly	18	15
Rarely	40	7
Total	100 n= 104	100 n= 141

The differences between the two groups of respondents are revealing because a third of those with children in De Beauvoir ate out at least once a week compared to only 14% in North Defoe, whilst 30% ate out 'rarely' compared to 52% in North Defoe. This suggests that having children is having more of an effect on respondents in North Defoe, partly perhaps for financial reasons but also because their children tend to be younger. Nevertheless despite the differences, eating out is clearly a significant part of the culture of most respondents, nearly two thirds of all respondents ate out at least once a fortnight.

Respondents were asked how often they made use of central London facilities for film, theatre and art¹⁷; table 8.14 gives the responses:

Table 8.14:
Use of cultural facilities

Facility Regularly Visited	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Cinema	60	54	55
Theatre	53	31	42
Art Gallery	39	26	33

A significant number in De Beauvoir do use such facilities, particularly the 'higher' art forms of art galleries and theatre. Even the cinema often meant specialist cinemas such as the National Film Theatre on the South Bank. John for example quoted the easy accessibility of the NFT from their De Beauvoir home as a positive benefit of living there

"I'm a member of the NFT, we go there regularly, we go to the Festival Hall regularly; we have these manic drives, it's about 15 to 20 minutes to the South Bank and we reckon on going to quite a lot of concerts and so on, films and theatre but theatre less so at the moment"

Hilary also talked about the importance of theatre

"The amenities of London are one of the main attractions [of living in London], theatres are in easy reach. We can go to the Barbican for a concert and be home seven minutes after the end of the show... we do regularly, even to the point where one evening my husband was bored in the middle of 'Three Sisters' and came home and did some work and met me at the end of the show. We do make

good use of what London has to offer from that point of view and for the children too. For example in the school holidays there's masses on, the Barbican library has activities, there's a Barbican children's cinema club. There are things on at the Geffrye Museum which we take the children to, there's very good leisure centres within easy reach and for adults there's swimming pools around, all those sorts of amenities.

All this is not to suggest that respondents did not feel the strains of living in the inner-city; Hilary's comment about how the 'dirt of London rarely got to [her]' is probably the exception to the rule¹⁸.

For many of the respondents the cultural facilities of the centre were important, for others the ability to socialize with friends was important and a third group were home-centred. It might be argued that the last group gained least benefit from inner-city living but since this was the group that was most likely to have children with both parents at work, the benefits of the inner-city have already been discussed. Moreover, as we have seen one of the attractions of inner-city areas is that of buying old housing and restoring it. The data can be misleading since my impression is that most respondents actually divided their leisure time across a range of activities and that the figures quoted here are only for the most salient. Thus, being able to socialize with a wide range of long-standing friends from a similar background and being able to make use of the facilities provided by London were both important concomitants of living in a gentrified area.

In the next chapter, the consequences - political and practical - of living in Hackney are considered. If this chapter has considered the reasons why people live in De Beauvoir and North Defoe, the next looks at what might be seen as the costs or the 'downside', particularly for those with families. It also considers how respondents respond to their environment by discussing their political views and affiliations. It is in this context that the question of locality effects can best be judged.

¹⁸The proposals to drive a north London relief road through the Square looked like reviving it.

²It might also be quite simply that older working-class residents have relatives buried in the cemetery and thus want to see their loved ones remembered in a more dignified and appropriate setting. Very few, if any, of the younger middle-class will be in a similar situation.

³Respondents were not prompted and they could give more than one reason, the figures thus indicate those that cited that particular reason.

⁴Approximately two thirds were existing owner occupiers (see Table 7.3).

⁵Interestingly, in view of the recent interest in owner occupation, many respondents went out of their way to say that they felt little inherent desire to own property but rather that the consequences of not owning were too awful to contemplate given the nature of the non-owned property market in the UK. See Saunders (1990) for a discussion of his concept of owner occupation as a 'natural desire'.

⁶This was in 1988 when the market was still booming. Now many of those houses have probably lost thousands and would be very difficult to sell, although most respondents would still have an asset worth considerably more than they had paid for it.

⁷The figures do not take account of the outstanding mortgage and any subsequent loans taken out to pay for repairs and improvements.

⁸There was not in fact a decline in prices in 1988 in Hackney. This figure arose from the change in the mix of properties to which the Nationwide Anglia made advances: there was a general increase in advances but particularly of flats and this served to lower the overall average although terraced houses actually increased from 242 in 1987 to 289 in 1988.

⁹For a discussion see Saunders (1990).

¹⁰Castells (1983) introduces the concept of 'urban meaning' which relates social and built forms of the urban. Whether there is any basis in reality for these distinctions that are drawn, for example, between liberal North London gentrification and the more yuppie and conservative areas to the South and West, such as Battersea and Fulham, is doubtful.

¹¹'Improvements' were defined as being more than routine maintenance or small-scale redecoration.

¹²*"Just the immediate look makes you think of 1950 and after the war, respectability and ghastly rigid stuffiness, lack of horizons and so on. The people who live there aren't like that at all, but then we turn to who does live there and I feel horribly identified with the joke cliché and I would rather live somewhere that was just much more intensely urban like Clerkenwell ... not to go for really posh places as that's not really it, somewhere older... that has got romance and if I look at the streets I think they are beautiful, if they are not awful, and don't have the leaden respectability bit that the houses here represent even if that's not what's going on"*

¹³This is reminiscent of Richard North's rather sharp characterization of 'Drabbies' who mind everyone's business in theory but 'don't speak to their neighbours'.

¹⁴A reference to the proposal to route an access road from the A1 to the City through Hackney, which will now probably never come to fruition.

¹⁵Most women with children work, so it is only those who work at home who are likely to be around during the weekdays.

¹⁶In North Defoe there are a large number of cheap restaurants on Stoke Newington Church Street within easy walking distance, whereas in De Beauvoir it is necessary to drive to Islington where there is a wide range of restaurants but which tend to be more expensive and require booking. In other words, one can eat out cheaply and on impulse in North Defoe but this is not so easy in De Beauvoir.

¹⁷ The omission of a question about live music was an error in the questionnaire design.

¹⁸Approximately one third of respondents had taken three or more holidays in the previous year. The number of holidays was high and, it might be assumed, was a central 'coping strategy' for dealing with the stresses of inner city living.

CHAPTER NINE:

LIVING THE INNER CITY

Introduction

Chapter eight was concerned with why respondents had settled in Hackney; in this chapter I look at some of the consequences of their decision to live there and how this relates to, and possibly affects, their political values and orientations. In a sense, as suggested at the end of the previous chapter, this involves what might be termed 'the downside' of living in inner London. Whereas the previous chapter pointed to all the attractions of living in inner London: the closeness to work, the cultural facilities and the ability to socialise with 'people like us', this chapter looks at the 'costs' which mainly concern the quality of services, notably education. To a great extent, services only become a serious issue for respondents with children; it is for this reason that children and family life are discussed in this chapter, as opposed to the previous one. At a more theoretical level, this relates very directly to the question of whether the concept of a 'locality effect', discussed in chapter six, is helpful in understanding service-class behaviour in Hackney. Whether this is the case and, if so, what its implications might be are discussed in the concluding chapter.

The first main issue discussed here concerns the transition from being young single people in London starting careers, both in the labour and housing markets, to a more established family status¹. This becomes particularly critical with the arrival of young children which create immediate problems about where to live and the kind of lifestyle to pursue. It is at this stage, it is suggested, that many families move out of the inner-city and many women become housewives; there was some evidence of this from the LS data presented in chapter five. Those who remain tend to be families with working mothers, who then have to make the necessary arrangements for childcare and education. The reasons for women continuing to work in their existing professions are likely to be careerist, ideological (a commitment to gender equality) and financial. Having children raises a new series of issues about living in the inner-city, notably in

relation to education and whether to educate them in the public or private sectors. The acquisition of 'educational capital' either permits upward mobility into the service-class or ensures existing members retain their service-class position inter-generationally and is a critical issue for respondents about where to live.

A further set of issues therefore concerns attitudes towards services and the political philosophies which underly the provision of such services. Many publicly-provided services ('collective consumption') are in greater demand in the inner-city than in non-urban areas because of the larger dependent and deprived population (see Dunleavy (1980) on the concept of collective consumption). Perversely such areas tend to be less well-provided for both qualitatively and quantitatively - a phenomenon which has been referred to as 'the inverse care law' (Tudor Hart 1971). As a group, the urban 'middle-class' are less dependent on many such services - housing, welfare, public transport - partly because of their age profile and partly because of their ability to provide for themselves through the market (private housing, private transport, private pensions). Nevertheless, it is widely accepted that the middle-class take disproportionate advantage of many publicly provided services - in education and, to a lesser extent, healthcare (Le Grand 1982; Townsend 1979). Educational provision in inner London in general, but Hackney in particular, is poor and an issue of major concern to respondents (DES 1990). Attitudes to publicly and privately provided services present respondents with a set of complex contradictions between cherished and often long-held ideological sentiments on the one hand, and practical dilemmas concerning their immediate family interests on the other. Respondents' attitudes, whilst complex and often contradictory, are likely to point to major contrasts with the rest of the service-class. This is reflected most clearly in attitudes to political ideologies and voting intentions and is dealt with in the final section of the chapter. For the reasons already given, the chapter starts off with a discussion of the impact of family life, and particularly children, on respondents' lifestyles.

Family life and children

Children are a reason for staying in the inner city but they are also a reason for leaving it. They are a reason for staying because living near the centre allows both partners in dual-earner families to continue working. One consequence of an area having many such families is access to valued childcare 'networks'. Conversely, children are a reason for leaving largely because of perceptions about the low quality of education and the 'grotty' physical environment. Why some families stay and some leave at this stage in the family cycle is complex. There is probably a clustering of values around living in the inner city, which include working in certain types of occupations, a belief in women's continued employment through motherhood, an attraction to the architecture of gentrified housing and an affinity for living near other such people. For those with children - and those without - these can all be powerful and compelling reasons for continuing to live in the inner city, or at least that is the suggestion from the respondents I interviewed. The fact that a minority of those interviewed (42%) had children should be kept in mind, the majority were singles and childless couples but nevertheless families with young children were a significant minority².

The percentage with children was identical in both areas, where they differed was in the number and age of the children; 64% of the respondents with children in North Defoe had only one child, compared to 35% in De Beauvoir. In other words, twice as many people in De Beauvoir had two or more children. This was probably because they were slightly older and had lived rather longer in their current home, whilst the younger group in North Defoe were at earlier stage in the family-rearing cycle - approximately three quarters of those with children in De Beauvoir had at least one child at school, compared to only 42% in North Defoe. Table 9.1 gives the educational status of their children³

Table 9.1:
Educational Status of children

Educational Status	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Not School Age	28	58	43
Primary School	28	22	25
Secondary School	10	16	13
Left School etc	35	4	20
	100 n= 51	100 n= 50	100 n= 101

Table 9.1 shows a group with relatively young children; this is especially the case in North Defoe although it is interesting to note that there are more respondents with children in the secondary sector in North Defoe than in De Beauvoir, although a significant percentage in De Beauvoir had children who had left school. The data need to be treated with some caution as actual numbers are small; for example the large percentage of those with children under five in North Defoe refers to only 29 respondents and there are only 5 people with children at secondary school in De Beauvoir.

Approximately half of the respondents with children employed some form of daycare to help care for them, this was slightly higher in North Defoe than De Beauvoir which is probably a result of the age profile of children. There was however a significant difference in the kind of daycare employed: in De Beauvoir 75% had a nanny compared to 30% in North Defoe where most parents relied on childminders. Significantly three quarters of those respondents with children said that the female was mainly responsible for childcare, in 20% of cases it was shared and in only three cases was it claimed (by male respondents) that it was the male who took responsibility. Thus my thesis about the importance of inner city living for dual-earner families may be true but it has not changed the primary responsibility of the female as the chief carer. It does though point to the crucial importance of childcare and education issues.

Education

Education was the primary concern of all those with children who expressed reservations about staying in the area. The dissatisfaction with local provision is indicated by looking at where their children were currently going to school.

Table 9.2:
Where children are at school

Where at school	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
ILEA in Hackney	16	65	41
Elsewhere in ILEA	47	20	33
Private	32	10	21
Other	5	5	5
Total	100 n= 19	100 n= 20	100 n= 39

The comparisons between De Beauvoir and North Defoe are striking; a third of parents with school age children in De Beauvoir educate them in the private sector and others are intending to. In De Beauvoir only 16% of respondents with children were educating them in Hackney, compared to 65% in North Defoe where only 10% are using private schools. When asked how satisfied they were with the education their children were receiving, the responses are revealing. Approximately three quarters of those responding in De Beauvoir were broadly satisfied compared to only half in North Defoe or, put another way, the level of dissatisfaction in De Beauvoir was half of that in North Defoe. This suggests that, although respondents in North Defoe may have kept their children in local schools, they are no less dissatisfied with the education they are receiving than parents in De Beauvoir. The latter have resolved their dissatisfactions either by moving sector or sending their children to schools outside the borough. Respondents in North Defoe were, on the whole, more active in trying to resolve their dissatisfactions by improving the quality of education, at least as far as their child's school was concerned.

Respondents were asked a hypothetical question about what they might do when their eldest child came to secondary school age, since this was often held to be the

'crunch time'. Just over a third of those with children of any age responded that they would stay and the remainder felt it likely that they would leave because of the schooling issue. When they were asked more specifically what their favoured option would be, they gave the following responses:

Table 9.3
Alternatives for secondary education

Secondary Alternative	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Hackney LEA	9	19	15
Other London LEA	9	15	12
LEA outside London	14	32	24
Private	57	15	33
Don't Know	11	19	16

Table 9.3 points to the dramatic public/private sector divide between the two areas. Over half of those asked in De Beauvoir considered 'going private' whereas only 16% in North Defoe considered private education. The major reason for this must largely be cost but it *may* also reflect a greater commitment to public services and antagonism to private provision on the part of respondents in North Defoe. In North Defoe therefore the options were to make the system in Hackney work or to move elsewhere outside London. It is probably fair to say that the most common response was 'fatalism' - there was little that could be done and they would 'wait and see' what happened. It may well be that the ideological objection is a rationalization of the lack of economic power on the part of the North Defoe respondents, although data presented later would suggest that the objection to private provision is more deep-rooted.

The relatively small numbers notwithstanding, the level of dissatisfaction with Hackney schools felt by parents is massive - particularly in De Beauvoir where very few of the parents use them and dissatisfaction is becoming a consequence of rumour rather than experience. Only 3 out of 19 respondents with school-age children in De Beauvoir were educating them at schools in Hackney; three times that number were using state schools elsewhere in the ILEA. Virginia and Ross are fairly typical:

Virginia: "When the kids went to the local primary school, as Caucasians they were technically in a minority. Kate was one of three white girls in her class and you suddenly began to appreciate what being a minority felt like. The other minorities weren't much larger themselves, there wasn't one dominant one... We have two friends who are actively trying to sell their houses for exactly the same reasons which are a) the size of the house and b) education.

Our kids are at school over in Westminster. We didn't like the school organization we saw in Hackney... well that's only half of it. The reason that Kate's not at school in Hackney is that it was suggested by her piano teacher that she was sufficiently musically gifted to benefit from a special music course, she therefore auditioned for the Pimlico course and she got onto it and that is where she is at school and Stuart followed her. We took that option (for Kate) with a fair degree of alacrity as we were not impressed with the Hackney options; the option that I would have been happy for us to have considered was the option of Camden Girls. I don't know if you know the tale of Camden Girls; if you are a band one child, which she is, you have to live within a hundred yards of the school to get your child in particularly if it doesn't have a sibling there. These acquaintances who are trying to move are trying to get within striking range of Camden.

We actually got as far as looking around Camden, who said if you get her into Pimlico and turn down the place then we will consider her for special musical needs because they were prepared to consider that music was a special educational need in the same way there could be medical needs or dyslexic needs. Kate wanted a mixed sex school, we really did like the music course, so that was the reason for Pimlico. Stuart followed on sibling grounds, which you could say was the soft option, which it was in our case when he said he wanted to go to his sister's school, we were not going to push because of the sheer terror of trying to pick through the minefield of Hackney schooling.

Ross: But let's address the question specifically. Let's start off with Katie again, when you think of the schools we tried to get her in, we looked at Pimlico, we looked at Camden, we also considered Raynes in East London as well and Greycoats and we also had a passing look at Islington Green. You tell me of one Hackney school that we seriously considered.

Virginia: That's right we didn't.

Ross: The question of private education did come up but it was discounted on my attitude to private education and the general cost of it. My attitude to it has always been that I did believe in the State system of education and that if I didn't see it working well enough then we should try to improve it which is why we became rather heavily involved in the primary school in De Beauvoir and which is why we have now transferred our allegiance across to the school the kids are in instead.

Virginia: It's one of the saddest things and this may be my social conscience speaking, and it's one of my feelings of greatest failure about the place where I live - because I want to make a commitment to where I live - that we have had to opt our children out of the education because you cannot afford to make your a child into a political point. Having said that what is very interesting is that the present chairman of Hackney Education Committee doesn't send his children to school in Hackney either. That's Michael Barber and he actually sends his children to school in Pimlico as well! I think that is quite a telling point.

TB: If you had not had the Pimlico offer, had decided not to go private, would

you then have considered a Hackney option ?

Ross: No, because we had a few other cards up our sleeve. There was Rayne's, we would have gone for a church school. We were already lining up the vicar to write a letter.

Virginia: We would have gone for the church school, very reluctantly; we would have only been reluctant as Ross has strong views on private education, he similarly has on church education. I was quite keen on church education for the kids but I think that was the next thing we would have followed."

This excerpt shows the ingenuity and lengths that parents were prepared to go to in order to secure the best education they could for their children. The repeated use of the word 'option' is revealing, as it points to an assumption of a degree of choice available in the state system which would certainly not be the perception of perhaps the great mass of parents. It also demonstrates a total antipathy towards secondary schooling in Hackney. The different attitudes to local primary education is also instructive.

Ross and Virginia were amongst the relatively few De Beauvoir respondents whose children had gone to the De Beauvoir primary school. There appears to have been somewhat of a 'stand off' between the school and middle-class parents. The school clearly felt committed to an equal opportunity policy in favour of 'minority' children and perceived middle-class parents as being hostile to these aims, which in turn was precisely how the middle-class parents perceived the school. More than one respondent in the survey volunteered the comment that the headmistress had told them that their child was likely to be bored at the school, which was then seized on as a reason for seeking a school elsewhere either in or out of the state sector. It was therefore hard to judge whether this was cause or effect, given that many, if not most, parents felt committed 'in principle' to state schooling and therefore needed to rationalize the decision to 'go private'. For many parents, who had an ideological commitment to state education, this represented a major 'crisis of conscience'. Some, like Ross and Virginia, 'stuck it out' at primary level but went to enormous lengths to seek out an acceptable state secondary school, others - albeit reluctantly - had made, or were intending to make, the move into private education. This has become an issue for Hilary and her husband

"Now we are considering secondary education, we are coming to the conclusion that our kids would probably not be comfortable in a school where there are an enormous number of black children or really rough white kids which there are around here and we are even finding that in the Square. About a week ago my older boy claimed that he was hit in the face by a kid and won't go out there without me. On the other hand there are other kids who I have been out there and tried to encourage him to play with. There's one group of kids who used to knock on his door all last summer and I think Benjie was quite scared of and in the last couple of weeks I have been out there and tried to encourage him to actually play with them. They live, I think, in Mortimer Road and I should think the house is owned by the Council, the kids are pretty rough but they are bearable and I think it would do Benjie quite a lot of good to mix with them a bit more, so I try to encourage that. So, whilst we don't try and keep our kids away from local roughnecks, I suppose we are quite concerned unless anything should happen. On the other hand, I think they would be better able to cope with those nasty things if they got to know the kids a bit more. A lot of it is the fear of the unknown.

From an educational point of view, Hackney is a bit of a disaster if you are middle-class and although, until quite recently, we were quite convinced that the kids would go to one of the local state schools we are having second thoughts about that. I do know lots of people who have moved out of the area saying that from the education point of view they couldn't bear to be here but they have then moved out and gone to private schools out of London so I can't see the point. From our point of view, our feeling is that you might as well stay in London and enjoy the benefits of London and then if you want then put your child into a private school around here...I don't think I now know anybody, no I know one family who still have children at De Beauvoir School. For example, our next door neighbours had their eldest girl there and they moved her from there. Our kids go to a school near the Barbican which is much more middle-class where I think they are more at home... We have another year to decide before secondary but we had one of these educational assessments done on him because we were worried that he hadn't really learnt anything for the last year. The woman told us rather baldly that he was probably the sort of child who wouldn't get any A levels if he was in a State school but was perfectly capable of three good A levels if he was in the right sort of environment. That has really made us consider in the last two months what the other options are...it's not really what we wanted. My husband is a devoted Labour party member and I think he would have done anything to have avoided coming to that conclusion but also with the education being handed over to Hackney that makes us rather nervous. If they cannot organize less important things than education, we are nervous of that. One school that we were considering for the children, other people have seen it more recently than us have come away saying we must be mad, so we are going to have a look at that again and really consider if it would work. We are reasonably happy with the kids' school in the Barbican and the kids are happy there, the eldest boy would be devastated if we uprooted him but what we have done in the last couple of months is we have got him a tutor, so that he can catch up with the discrepancies that exist. It's just iniquitous, you are looking at an entirely different education system [between public and private sectors] it's not just a

different social system but the curriculum is totally different and although he is getting on alright at his present school he is just not covering the same ground that would be needed in a private school. This tutor is supposed to be filling the gaps, whether or not we have left it too late time will tell. "

This fear of 'missing the boat' is pushing back the age at which some parents are considering opting for private education. Geraldine, like Hilary, is married to a very committed Labour party member but nevertheless has taken her children out of the state sector in order to keep their options open for private secondary schooling.

"The only thing that would make us move, I suspect, is schools. It's a moral problem for us in that we both went to state schools and feel quite strongly that we should be using the state system, if only it were what we wanted from the state system. I don't feel the state system certainly in London is anything like as good as when I went to state school and I was particularly worried about what would happen to my children after the age of eleven. I think they are fine at primary school probably but then you get this incredible bottle-neck at eleven when all the middle-class children from primary school want to get into the private day schools which are becoming increasingly competitive and very difficult to get into. I was getting concerned that maybe that if that was what I wanted then maybe I should do something about it now.

Henrietta is getting on for six and she went to William Tyndale which is up in Canonbury; she went there because other children from De Beauvoir went there and I was very pleased with it really. It is very self-consciously committed to being a state school, but there's nothing wrong with that and I felt that the values were all in the right place, although they didn't push the children in any sense. I did quarrel with their education policy in the sense that they kind of expected learning to descend from the stratosphere; there was this feeling that children ought to discover for themselves and given the stimulus will do so. That's fine but I don't think there's anything wrong with giving children an awful lot of stimulus and I sometimes felt that Henrietta was ready for more than she was being offered although now she's at the most horrendously academic little school in the City, Charterhouse Square, which is just the other side of the Barbican and has incredible academic success. It is quite a new school but seems to be getting all their children into the schools that they want to go to but there is not an awful lot of play that goes on. Fred will follow her there when he is five.

I didn't want to have to move out of London for schooling; I think parents worry about schooling far too much, they think that if they have made the right decisions about children they have solved their children's problems for the rest of their lives. I find that attitude silly and really rather unpleasant but on the other hand, you actually want to give your children the best chance you can so it just seemed like a logical thing. I couldn't really see Henrietta at an inner London comprehensive although having said that, I have to confess that I haven't carried out extensive research on the inner London comprehensives but I did talk to some ILEA teachers and there was a general feeling that the standard of the secondary education in London was not as high as the primary education.

These three extended quotations illustrate the concerns expressed about education and its centrality to the issue of living in the inner city. It is also quite clear that there are a range of 'options' open to parents when confronted with the widespread feeling that schools in Hackney are at best unsatisfactory - these range from 'going private' to 'working the system'; the kind of strategy adopted by Ross and Virginia is by no means the exception. It must be stressed there were relatively few respondents who had children of secondary school age, which may be significant in that they may well have been the ones who left. Both Hilary and Virginia, who had both lived in the area for a long time attested to the fact that many had left for educational reasons. On the other hand, many respondents were clearly prepared to stay and 'work something out' as all three respondents quoted above have done. For De Beauvoir parents that has increasingly meant considering private education despite their ideological misgivings.

The range of rationalizations which they use to justify going private is indicative of their unease about the decision. These include their own children's perceived 'special needs' and the pathological nature of state provision in the area. Words like 'rough' which were used by Hilary would never normally be used in any other context, the references to 'black-dominated' schools are highlighted and how state education has changed since they were at school, all suggest a measure of desperation. Very little evidence is produced, as Geraldine had the grace to admit, but views of friends and acquaintances are quoted extensively by both Hilary and Geraldine to justify what is clearly a matter of great concern and discussion by people like themselves.

They are dissatisfied not with the principle, or indeed the general practice of education, but with local provision. When asked why their children were not being schooled in Hackney, only 10% of De Beauvoir parents quoted dissatisfaction with the state system, whereas over 75% were dissatisfied with schools in Hackney. Hackney's particular problems are therefore seen as the reason for the switch⁴.

The experience in North Defoe was somewhat different; the research took place in an area with a well-regarded primary school. A number of respondents said that its presence had been a reason for moving into the area. It was a comparatively well-resourced school and had a relatively high proportion of middle-class children and an active and supportive parent group. Whilst it still suffered from many of the problems common to Hackney schools, notably teacher shortage, it was felt to be an attractive school to work in. Middle-class parents had clearly 'adopted' the school and fought for resources for it. As the tables above show, that does not automatically mean that those in North Defoe are any more satisfied with the education their children are receiving, in fact they are less so not having adopted the kinds of individualistic strategies used in De Beauvoir. They are also more likely to consider a move out of London, although how likely that is actually to happen is less certain. They are, if anything, more concerned about what will happen at secondary school age. It is possible that they will 'adopt' a secondary school in the same way that they have a primary. There is evidence of this beginning to happen, and it is perhaps not beyond the bounds of fantasy that they could use the 'opting out' provisions of the 1988 Education Act to set up 'their' own school.

Individual schools clearly do make a difference and the different perceptions of the local schools is indicative of this but it also indicates a greater difference about public versus private provision of services⁵. It is possible that sustained middle-class pressure in some areas of the borough will lead to a dramatic improvement in educational standards in a selected number of schools. Education is a rather special case for respondents, or at least those with children or contemplating having them, since it is the key to social mobility and class reproduction in the next generation whereas other services - with the possible exception of health are less important.

Services

Services can be divided into public and private, those which are collectively organized and consumed and those organized privately through the market albeit with

some form of state subsidy (Castells 1975; Saunders 1986; Dunleavy 1980). Public services can also be divided between those organized and paid for locally and those organized nationally.

Taking nationally organized services first, the one service that nearly all respondents were concerned about, both personally and generally, was the National Health Service. Approximately three quarters of respondents were satisfied with the level of care they received from the NHS, although many freely admitted they made very few demands on the system. The personal economic cost of waiting lists for surgery was the single greatest reason for having private care. Some 43% of respondents in De Beauvoir and just over a fifth in North Defoe were members of private health insurance schemes, although for most it was a company benefit about which many voiced some moral unease. A quarter of those who did not have private insurance had considered taking it out and two thirds of these had decided against as a matter of principle. This suggests that whilst many respondents are able to make private provision, they are - if anything - even more uneasy about it ideologically than private education. This is perhaps not surprising since a decision about education is a decision about someone else's life which makes taking 'principled stands' morally less clear cut. Most respondents were also clear that, unlike in education, the NHS provided a better quality care (particularly for major trauma surgery) and that therefore, on pragmatic grounds, it was short-sighted to undermine it by going private. Principled concern therefore for the health of the nation broadly coincided with private interest. This though was not generally the case with public services offered locally.

The attitude of most respondents to local services could be summarised as being in favour of them in principle but in reality largely independent of them. They are generally content with it that way, since otherwise it would mean mixing socially far more than they intended. The question of education, as we have seen, loomed large as an exception; although for many it was a hypothetical bridge to be crossed in due course whilst others, as we have seen, had already reached reasonably satisfactory personal

solutions to the problem. The other area where local services impinged on respondents was what can broadly be termed, environmental services, examples being refuse collection and street cleaning in De Beauvoir and the upkeep of Clissold Park in North Defoe. The local authority and its services with these few exceptions, important though they are, did not apparently impinge much on the lives of respondents.

Respondents were asked about how much use they made of libraries, leisure facilities and parks since these did appear to be the sort of local facilities that respondents, particularly those with children, might use. Table 9.4 indicates the extent to which local libraries were used:

Table 9.4:
Use of Library facilities

Use of Hackney Libraries	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Regularly	16	38	27
Sometimes	26	37	31
Never	46	24	35
Islington regularly	13	1	7
Total	100	100	100

Two things are apparent from Table 9.4; firstly that there is a significant difference between the two areas and secondly that as many De Beauvoir respondents use Islington facilities as their local Hackney one. Most of these were parents who used the facilities for children and it is interesting to note that, just as the De Beauvoir parents had abandoned Hackney schools, many had acted in the same way with the libraries. I received numerous comments about how they were often shut due to industrial action and, even if they were open, the staff did not 'seem interested'. The migration to Islington was 'more in sorrow than anger' but reflects a general cynicism about the ability of Hackney to provide or manage any service. Whilst usage of local facilities was higher in North Defoe even there less than half the respondents regularly used their local library.

Respondents were then asked how much use they made of local authority leisure facilities. The responses are given in Table 9.5:

Table 9.5:
Use of Leisure facilities

Use of Hackney Leisure Facilities	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Regularly	26	38	32
Sometimes	26	36	31
Never	35	17	26
Use Islington facilities	13	9	11
Total	100	100	100

A very similar pattern emerges for leisure facilities as for libraries, that there is a higher usage in North Defoe than De Beauvoir and, in De Beauvoir, many use Islington facilities despite the proximity of the new purpose-built Britannia leisure centre. In North Defoe 82% claimed that they made regular use of the parks and only two respondents (2%) never used the public spaces in North Defoe. Only 3% (one person in De Beauvoir and six in North Defoe) claimed they regularly used local community centres which is hardly indicative, even in the latter area, of an involvement in the local community.

Whilst it might be tempting to suggest that this all reflects an ideological divide between the two areas about issues of collective consumption, this is not wholly justified partly because of physical and location factors. De Beauvoir, as we have seen, is geographically, as well as socially, an extension of Islington. Most residents look to Islington's Upper Street, not Hackney's Kingsland Road, as their 'centre'. North Defoe is a little more distant geographically from Islington and a lot more so socially largely because it is part of Stoke Newington which has its own social, cultural and commercial infrastructure centred around Church Street. This cannot be a complete explanation since double the number of respondents in De Beauvoir do not use leisure facilities either in Islington or Hackney despite the fact that there is a modern, well-equipped and purpose built leisure complex - the Britannia Centre - right in the area⁶. This would support to some extent the view that De Beauvoir respondents are less involved and

interested in activities in their area and either confine themselves to the home or else use central London as a whole for their leisure. It is difficult to distinguish between social and spatial factors here, as the provision of public space in Stoke Newington is generous, and this must facilitate the use of the locality compared to De Beauvoir where there is almost none and anything outside the home involves a trip usually by car or public transport. The physical layout must affect perceptions but, on the other hand, it is also probably true that different kinds of people like different areas and those in De Beauvoir often valued the isolationism or privatism of the dwelling whilst those in North Defoe valued the communality of public spaces. In the final analysis, the reason why people live in De Beauvoir may simply be because it is an area of cheap 'period' housing with fantastic access to the City. They are largely socially 'detached' from where they live.

Local services, apart from education, do not appear to play a central role in respondents' lives - although environmental services are regarded as something that are worth fighting for and amenable to change within the existing system.

"My husband has worked quite a lot to ensure that the Square is reasonably well looked after, when he has heard of cuts in the Parks Department for example he's always acted very strenuously to ensure that we don't lose our park-keeper who is a permanent park-keeper which is quite unusual for a little area like this; we are lucky to have a park and a permanent park-keeper but that doesn't stop him from doing all he can to keep it and so far he has been successful"

Respondents were asked which, if any, services provided by the Council they appreciated, the results are given in Table 9.6:

Table 9.6:
Local services which are valued

Valued Services	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
None	49	52	50
Refuse/Cleaning	31	20	26
Leisure	13	20	16
Other	7	9	8
Total	100	100	100

Half of the respondents in both areas did not value any service, but it is instructive that a third of those in De Beauvoir mentioned refuse/street cleaning. This is the issue they complained about most but it is also, unlike most services, one that affected them and they felt they could also do something about. The council responded to their complaints, they got to know the officers involved and, as a result of this, the service improved. The satisfaction with leisure is more specific to each area, the Britannia Centre in De Beauvoir and Clissold Park in North Defoe; although fewer respondents in De Beauvoir used the leisure facilities, those who did were impressed by them which reinforces the argument that the main reason for not using them had little to do with their quality but more to do with a wish to maintain distance from those who use publicly-provided services.

Overall most respondents were fairly indifferent to the level and quality of services offered by the council and, as Table 9.7 below demonstrates, they felt relatively unaffected by the cutbacks in local services.

"I feel aggravated that my streets aren't swept and that's really the only way that I feel I come in contact with the local authority but then I understand that they have had to make cuts of about sixty percent in their budgets for street cleaning, so that's what happens. You work the system that there is and we operate in a very centralized fashion in all respects. Our children go out to school, and we go out to work and our politics even tends to be centralized now. I have almost nothing to do with the local authority.

TB: Is the local infrastructure then of no importance to you ?

Geraldine: It depends on what you mean by the local infrastructure, the restaurants are quite important !... We use the library, the Mildmay Library (in Islington) and in fact we use the sports centre down at the Britannia, we use the swimming pool, but that's about it really, we use the leisure facilities"

Geraldine's sentiments, although stated in a characteristically provocative tone, are not atypical particularly of respondents in De Beauvoir. Geraldine, as we have seen, has reluctantly removed her children from the state school system, the family have BUPA through her husband's job, they have a nanny and a company car. Typically, her major concerns about the area revolve around street cleaning and refuse collection.

Table 9.7:
Experience of cutbacks in local services

Personal experience of cuts	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Not at all	43	31	37
Hardly at all	35	42	38
Some	20	23	21
A lot	2	5	4
Don't know	1		
Total	100	100	100

Three quarters of those interviewed did not feel that 'cuts' had affected them in any meaningful way. This did not mean that they were indifferent to the consequences of the cuts, which many had far more direct experience of as providers of services in their work⁷. This is indicated by their attitudes to reductions in public expenditure, which are given in Table 9.8:

Table 9.8:
Attitude to cuts in public expenditure

Attitude to cuts	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
A disaster	27	44	35
A bad thing	19	29	24
Gone too far	18	10	14
Sad but necessary	21	12	17
A good thing	9		5
Don't know	6	5	6
Total	100	100	100

Responses divided into two main groups; just over half of the De Beauvoir respondents and nearly three quarters of those in North Defoe were appalled at the policy. Less than 5% felt they were a 'good thing' and they all came from De Beauvoir. The remainder saw the economic necessity for the policy of reducing government expenditure but felt that it had now probably gone too far. A significant number of these

people (15% of the De Beauvoir respondents and 9% in North Defoe) felt that cuts had shown that there were major efficiency savings to be made and that the council could have done more to mitigate the effects on service delivery. This last point notwithstanding, the table does point to a consensus over the concept of local service provision but tempered by some severe reservations both about Hackney's policy priorities and its management of service delivery. When asked what the local authority should do about reductions in its income, only 10% felt that they should preserve services at any cost and only 3% suggested privatisation. Twenty percent did not know and the rest felt that the answer was to prioritize policies and improve efficiency.

These responses reflect partly the occupational and sectoral differences between the areas, with more public sector and welfare professionals amongst the North Defoe respondents and also the differences in political and ideological stances between respondents in the two areas which are discussed below. There was, perhaps not too surprisingly, hostility to many of the well-publicized policies towards minorities but the overwhelming impression held by most respondents was that of inefficiency

"...the day-to-day contact which we have with council which is the great bugbear of all our lives. Things like the dustmen, the street cleaning and our recent experience of dealing with the planning department in trying to build an extension on the back of our house. Our architects say they have never worked with a council which is more disorganized and long-winded...another recent example is that we have been trying to find out whether it is possible to rent a garage. We gather that on the Lockner Estate, which is the fourth side of the Square here, there are garages vacant and since we had a car nicked from outside the house and since my husband has got this idea he wants to get himself a convertible, he decided he might investigate the possibility of renting a council garage. We have been through the mill with that, which is just a tiny part of the council's workings which has made us realise just how hopeless it is to actually deal with anybody. Inefficient, nobody knows, people give you answers which sound convincing at the time and then you find out that it was an load of 'old eyewash'. Without going into the details or the steps we have gone through to find out whether the garage was available, it has taken us several months to be told that 'no, as you are not a council tenant, there's absolutely no hope of you ever getting a garage' which was what we had originally expected to be the case. Another example... is the Ufton Centre which used to be a Community Centre on Ufton Road which is lying empty now. An idea came up for its possible use and I wrote to the Council; I think I wrote to the Borough Valuer with a copy to someone else, I cannot remember who now, asking if it would be possible to look

around the building to see what sort of state of repair it was in and whether it was suitable for the purposes that we had in mind. After about two months, when I had had no acknowledgement at all, I managed to track down someone who seemed to know about it but that is the sort of hoops you have to go through. You cannot just write a letter and get a reply, you actually have to do a lot of work."

This inefficiency⁸ is an enormous source of frustration to the service-class, who are used to dealing with rational bureaucratic procedures. At the same time, this is an enormous source of power relative to other groups because they have the time, skill and resources to follow things through. They are able, in the end, to find the person to talk to, partly because they have the skills to track down the individual responsible for a given policy area but, equally importantly, because they have the resources, such as access to a telephone during working hours, to make the contact. This experience and its frustrations does enhance in many respondents, especially amongst those who do not work in the public sector themselves, a sense of the huge and wasteful inefficiency of the council.

Respondents were invited to prioritize what services the council should concentrate on: most revealing was their widespread ignorance about what services the council actually ran, since answers included health, education, police, transport and fire services which were all, at the time, run by non-borough organizations. It was left to respondents to decide what they considered to be 'essential' or 'non-essential'.

Table 9.9:

Percent who believe service to essential/non-essential

Service	De Beauvoir %		North Defoe %		All %	
	Yes ⁹	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Essential/non-Essential						
Leisure services	16	12	14	9	15	11
Environmental services	31	1	20	3	26	2
Housing	25	2	24	1	24	2
Social Services	14	2	25	0	19	1
Positive discrimination policies	2	18	0	12	1	15
Protecting the socially vulnerable	15	2	14	1	14	1
All services essential	17	-	44	-	30	-
Don't know	10	-	7	-	9	-

Table 9.9 indicates that respondents found it easier to *talk* about prioritization than to make decisions about implementing priorities but it also demonstrates a generalized 'bottom line' commitment to welfare. There are two differences between the two areas that are worth commenting on: first, that more respondents in North Defoe were of the opinion that all existing services were essential. The second difference is that many more in North Defoe saw Social Services as essential. These differences probably reflect an organizational commitment to the present system of delivery by elected local government. It is also possible that they simply had more knowledge about the public sector. These data suggest a general commitment to welfare with criticisms being focused on the marginal political policies and, more significantly, on the perceived wastefulness in the management of service delivery by Hackney council¹⁰.

"Some of our best friends are councillors and they certainly do talk about lack of organization and lack of decent brains in the council itself but whether that is much worse in Hackney than anywhere else, I don't know; whether the political ideologies have taken over, it's very easy to say they have I think...I think the people who are sounding off about the council spending money on some rather odd things are the people who in the end might move away.

This rather balanced view, focusing on managerial and organization ineptness probably reflects the majority view. Respondents were asked, hypothetically, if they were prepared to pay more taxes in the form of rates for better services, which presumably they would make relatively little use of. The response (Table 9.10) is a reluctant approval for the policies of the local state:

Table 9.10:
Willingness to pay more for improved services

More rates for better services	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Yes	32	62	47
With conditions	42	29	36
No	24	9	17
Don't Know	2		1
Total	100	100	100

Whilst reservations might be drawn about the validity of asking hypothetical questions, the responses reflect the views of the majority of respondents in favour of policies of redistribution and social justice. Even in De Beauvoir, only a quarter of respondents were not prepared to contemplate paying more in taxes; over 90% of those in North Defoe were prepared to pay more. This is particularly striking given the lower levels of income in North Defoe¹¹. My sense was that this was 'guilt money' on the part of a group who, whilst not well-paid in comparison to the De Beauvoir respondents, considered themselves privileged compared to those who were in need of the services which they were often responsible for delivering. The general reaction to local politics was one of alienation from the whole local political process, a resigned fatalism; they did not really need the services, they knew others did and that the council probably did not do a very good job in delivering them but there was little they could do about it and so they divorced themselves from it. Paying taxes for services one did not use was the simplest way of reconciling one's guilt and powerlessness. This point of view was quite common even amongst those who had been actively involved in radical politics in the quite recent past.

Politics: being decent to someone else on this planet.

"The gentrification of this area has gone hand in hand with my own disillusionment and sense of hypocrisy and compromise at the heart of previously what seemed like quite absolute ideas about politics"

This is quite a widespread sentiment and is associated with acquiring a family and the need for greater emotional, political and economic stability in a decade where economic and political values have undergone a revolution and left many feeling very insecure. For Jim, the decision to buy a house in a (relatively) leafy area was bound up with a decision by him and his partner to distance themselves from their previous somewhat frenetic political activism; it was also connected to the arrival of their two children¹²:

"It was about fulfilling my own needs and there was nothing wrong in fulfilling your own needs - the idea that political rectitude is about political self-abnegation, so I decided to take some control over those conditions"

This also has something to do with a sense of 'belonging', which a gentrifying area facilitates with its juxtaposition of the comfortable privatism of the home and the socially mixed and deprived external environment. It also suggests a new political orientation for the service-class; Geraldine once more puts the position in stark terms:

"I am a great fan of the enterprise culture, I do think that people should be encouraged to stand on their own feet, but not without a safety net and I am horrified by what I have seen of homelessness in London and that kind of desperateness that people get into where there seems no way out... I am a believer in the mixed economy: I don't think that the state should be provider of everything but I don't think it should be left to the private sector to give. I think that things like housing and education, health should and can only be managed by the state. I suspect that our resources, water, electricity and so on can only be managed satisfactorily by the state and I think people probably have to be taxed to pay for it...

In the last five years we have travelled to China, to India, Thailand and the Caribbean and that's all very nice and it's nice to be able to afford the house you like and the furniture to go in it and to stock up your garden with plants from Columbia Road and to have a choice, given that one is forced to make a choice, about where to send one's children to school but I don't think one should be forced to make that choice. I am not sure that I buy the argument that I actually have to give up my Persian carpets for those people who are living under Waterloo Bridge to have homes. I am prepared to be taxed more heavily than I am and of course one is better off and it is difficult to see how one would feel if one didn't have this money and I am sure it is very corrupting but without being offered clear moral choices I am not sure how my life has changed.

This view that consumption is acceptable but that one should be taxed to pay for a safety net, was widely held. This suggests that, like many other members of the service-class, respondents were committed to a high degree of personal consumption and were not generally reliant on public services but also believed in the concept of collective provision and were prepared to pay for it. There were significant differences here between respondents in the two areas although these differences are probably less significant than their combined difference with service-class members nationally.

We've thought out our politics and yet we are all prepared to pay our taxes to keep the NHS running, we believe very strongly in supporting those who cannot

support themselves. The Labour Party is beginning to realise there are high earners, professionals, who are quite happy to pay their dues to society for those who can't. We don't like the people who are quite capable of supporting themselves, the builders, the plasterers who want a cash economy. They don't want invoices or to pay VAT but they moan. They do nothing to put money back into the local economy"

This discussion of public services, and particularly those provided locally, does indicate the way in which although service-class members in Hackney are physically part of the community, their shared experience of it is almost literally another world away from the majority of the population who are reliant on a declining public sector. With the exception of education and, in a lesser way, environmental services, this is not a matter of *direct* concern to respondents and is indeed one of the ways in which they maintain distance from fellow residents, although *indirectly* they are willing to be taxed to provide better services which they will in all likelihood not use. They do not use them partly because they do not need them but also perhaps because they want to maintain a distance from the other users of them.

In chapter seven, respondents were compared to the service class as a national entity and it emerged that generally they were better educated, better paid and more likely to be in professional or administrative sections of it. They were also more likely to have come from a similar social background to their current one than the class as a whole. Savage (1990) drew attention to research which indicated that this section of the service class was more likely to support the Labour Party than other sections (particularly those in managerial and technical sections), so it is perhaps not surprising that respondents expressed more sympathy for the Labour Party than any other party by a large margin. Respondents were asked 'if there were to be a general election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?', the responses are given in Table 9.11

Table 9.11:
Voting intention

Voting intention	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Labour	33	70	51
Conservative	26	9	18
Liberal	12	5	9
Green	8	5	7
SDP	6	2	4
Abstain	2	3	3
Other	1	1	1
Don't know	11	5	8

It is clear that the support for the Labour Party, even in De Beauvoir, is far higher than might be expected, given respondents' occupational class position.

"If you gave a statistician a list of people's characteristics - income, cars, value of property etc - it wouldn't come up with what's actually happening here..."

There is also a very clear and marked difference between the two areas, with three quarters of all respondents in North Defoe saying that they would support the Labour party. The level of party membership amongst respondents is very high with 22% of respondents belonging to a political party.

Table 9.12:
Party political membership

Party membership	De Beauvoir n	North Defoe n	All n
Labour	13	21	34
Conservative	5	0	5
Liberals	3	0	3
SDP	4	0	4
Green	1	1	2
Other		2	2
Total	26	24	50

Two thirds of those belonging to a political party were members of the Labour party¹³ - in North Defoe 21 out of 24. This, together with the evidence of the direction of voting intention, suggests very strongly that there is a 'leftish' ideological orientation amongst members of the service-class in Hackney.

The political views of respondents are, on the whole, long-standing. Three quarters of those who voted in the 1987 general election had voted the same way in 1983 and those who had switched had generally done so from Conservative to Alliance. Two main reasons emerged to justify their voting intention; firstly there was an ideological loyalty to their chosen party and antipathy to the other main party or parties (in the case of alliance voters). The second main reason depended on which party respondents supported; Labour party supporters cited support for the party's position on social justice whilst Conservative supporters focused either on the party's management of the economy or on Mrs Thatcher's supposed leadership qualities. Table 9.13 summarises the sources of support by party.

Table 9.13:
Reason for supporting party by direction of voting intention

Issue	Labour	Conservati ve	SDP/ Lib	Other	Total %
Party Ideology	53	2	6	5	66
Anti-main party	35	6	16	14	30
Social Issues	27	0	1	4	14
Economic Issues	0	20	1	2	10
Leadership	0	12	1	2	6
Other	8	3	5	12	12
Total n	123	43	30	39	235
%	52	18	13	17	100

There was slightly more flexibility in voting behaviour at a local level, with just under half of respondents saying that they *might* vote differently at a local election and again this was more likely to happen in De Beauvoir¹⁴. Most respondents though maintained a long-standing commitment to a single party and seemed unlikely to change it.

It's very easy to live around here and state socialist views, there's some areas of London where I've lived where one could never state those views because you would either be regarded as mad or needing conversion whereas around here people accept your opinion and that's fine. There's no doors closed in your face because of it.

There's a high percentage of middle-class prime Tory candidates here who are second home owners, probably shareowners, yet the more I've got to know people they and I share very similar views. Yes we work quite hard, some of us get paid quite well but those of us who are self-employed actually run their businesses for their employees as a family. There's no black economy. There are six or seven of us locally who are quite close and we talk about these things. We have lost

faith in the local Labour Party, we find them too strident and they don't listen and all they want to do is to push forward their own candidate and their own policies. They accuse you of not wanting to be involved in the day-to-day business of running it but, if you go to the local meetings you just get shouted down. Yet when it comes to it, they are as selfish as the bluest of the blue. The poll tax thing - they react before they know the facts.

Colin, who was a Labour Party card holder for some time feels destroyed by some of the things going on in the Labour Party and very sad at the lack of support you get in the party as a whole. They don't want to know what you are thinking but most of us here are quite eloquent.

Despite these concerns, respondents were remarkably loyal to what they saw the basic tenets of the Labour party (primarily a redistributive and universalistic form of social justice) and could not envisage voting for any other party. Oriana talks about her frustrations with the Labour party, and particularly its leadership:

"We would both have no doubt that we would still vote Labour, we don't particularly like Neil Kinnock, we don't like the Labour party but we would still vote Labour rather than anything else. There doesn't seem any alternative...I am sure I used to know why, but now it would just feel like the only thing that I could do. I have never voted anything but Labour in my whole life; I just don't see how I could change unless there was a more radical alternative that seemed pragmatically possible in a way that I don't see any of the alternative left parties seem possible...if you lived in another country there are socialist parties in other countries of the world that I would find much more appealing than the socialist party in this country.

Things though have changed, because when she moved in

"No one [other than Labour supporters] declared their politics, whereas now it is socially acceptable to put an SDP sticker in your window"

There is little evidence from the data of support for such politics, but clearly things are changing. Oriana is probably quite typical; as an age-long Labour voter she admits that she has been changed by the experience of 'ten years of Thatcherism'

"At the same time a little bit of me can't help think there's a huge mangrove swamp of rubbish around some of which is going and forging something new. In that sense Thatcherism has something like being the rabbit in the headlights, because it gives you the sense that something is happening and never until this era did I ever feel that anything was happening under the successive Wilson, Heath and Callaghan governments which structured my whole life. I felt nothing

ever changed, politics was to do with nothing changing and that's an odd dynamic of this age"

She believes that now people like her have become more assertive of themselves and their needs

"I used to dress specially not to look noticeable, I used to hide the realities of my class position whatever that is"

This has shades of Richard North's concept of the 'Drabbies' of Stoke Newington quoted earlier, with all the moral imperatives they peddled about how you *should* behave. The service-class in Hackney are becoming more assertive, they are announcing their presence, their needs and this manifests itself in numerous ways - in the changing shops, the window boxes, brightly painted front doors and demands for traffic schemes. It also marks itself by a distancing from what are seen as traditional political positions and posturing both from the moralism of the new urban left as well as the single-minded market mentality of Thatcherism.

Perhaps the single clearest indicator of 'who' these people are is given by the daily paper they read.

Table 9.14:
Newspaper Readership

Daily Paper	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	All %
Guardian	25	45	35
Independent	15	10	13
Times	13	0	7
Daily Telegraph	2	0	1
Financial Times	3	2	3
More than 1 of above	17	12	15
None	18	25	21
Other	7	6	6
Total	100	100	100

Seventy percent of those who read a daily paper in North Defoe, and 49% in De Beauvoir, take *The Guardian*. Newspaper readership was lower than national figures for marketing classes 'A' and 'B' but was considerably higher for *The Guardian* and

Independent and much lower for the *Times* and *Daily Telegraph*. This is indicative of the values and attitudes held by respondents which seem to diverge widely from the service-class nationally, especially amongst those living in North Defoe.

There is a stereotype of Stoke Newington being full of teachers and social workers and, whilst this is not strictly the case, it certainly feels like it at times. A local Labour Party official told me that the most common union affiliation of people joining was NALGO followed by the NUT and NUJ. This was reinforced by the impression (borne out by the findings) that it was a solidly *Guardian* reading group who were overwhelmingly Labour voters and quite often members. There were, in fact, quite large numbers who worked in the private sector and were equally committed to the Labour Party.

Explaining the differences

The differences between the two areas can be characterised in simple sectoral or demographic terms: Those living in De Beauvoir are older, more established domestically, richer and tend to work in the private sector. In North Defoe, the original hypothesis that it was populated by highly-credentialed and somewhat dissident members of the middle-class with a collectivist and statist commitment to social justice is partially confirmed. In fact, although a lower proportion worked in the private sector than in De Beauvoir, only 40% worked in the public sector. The key difference between the two areas emerges in relation to attitudes and particularly voting intention and party political loyalties. This however, needs to be kept in context: taking respondents in both areas as a group, the most striking differences are with the service class as a whole. Not only are they more highly-educated, richer, and more likely to come from a service-class background¹⁵, but they are also considerably more likely to support the Labour party. This is partly, but by no means totally, explained by the fact they are more likely to have received a university education, to work in the public sector and to be professionals or

administrators as opposed to managers or technical workers which are all factors which militate against voting Conservative (Crewe 1987).

This can be illustrated by reference to national level data on voting behaviour. Using the three party vote, table 9.15 compares the voting intentions of the service class members in the sample with a similar group from Crewe's (1987) general election data and Marshall et al's (1988) data.

Table 9.15
Voting Intentions for service class¹⁶

Voting intention	De Beauvoir	North Defoe	Hackney All	Marshall Service Class	Crewe Prof/ Manager
	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative	34	6	20	52	59
Labour	43	88	65	22	14
Liberal/SDP	23	7	15	26	27
n	88	88	176	361	4886

It is immediately apparent that the Hackney respondents, as a group, are far more disposed to vote Labour and less for either the Conservative or Alliance parties. Although this is less the case in De Beauvoir, the Conservative vote there is still well below the national figure and the Labour vote higher.

There are important social class differences between the voting intentions of respondents, as Table 9.16 demonstrates, nevertheless both classes in both areas remain more predisposed to voting against the Conservatives and for the Labour party than is the case nationally.

Table 9.16
Voting by social class and by area (% of three way vote)

Voting intention	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Hackney		Marshall et al	
	Social Class 1	Social Class 2	Social Class 1	Social Class 2	Social Class 1	Social Class 2	Social Class 1	Social Class 2
Con	46	21	13	4	37	11	57	50
Lab	33	55	56	94	39	80	18	25
Alliance	22	24	31	1	24	10	25	25
n	46	42	16	72	62	114	98	193

It has been suggested that those with a university education are less likely to vote for the Conservative party (Crewe 1987). Table 9.17 compares the voting intentions of graduates in Crewe's 1987 data and the Hackney data.

Table 9.17
Voting Intentions of graduates (share of three party vote)

Voting intention	Hackney	Crewe
	%	%
Conservative	16	34
Labour	68	29
Liberal/SDP	27	36
n	163	4886

The proportion intending to vote Labour is over twice as great as in the Crewe data; the Conservative vote is less than half and the Alliance about two thirds. Whereas nationally the Conservatives take just over a third of the graduate vote, in Hackney they receive less than a sixth. Once again these figures should be treated with caution since we are dealing with smaller numbers and data which is statistically less representative than either of the other two surveys. In addition, both Hackney areas are located within Parliamentary constituencies where Labour majorities have made the other two parties appear to be a wasted vote at least in general elections¹⁷, which is not the case with the service class nationally. Nevertheless the overwhelming conclusion is a massive pro-Labour party identification, far in excess of anything that might be observed at a national or regional level.

Attention has been drawn to sectoral differences in voting behaviour between those employed in the public and private sectors (Saunders 1988; Dunleavy 1980; Duke and Edgell 1984). This is amply illustrated by the data from Crewe (1987) and Marshall (1988) which is reproduced in Table 9.18. Once more the Hackney data shows a clear and unambiguous bias towards the Labour party and away from the Conservatives.

Table 9.18
Sectoral divisions and voting intentions

Voting intention	Hackney		Crewe	
	% Public	% Private	% Public	% Private
Conservative	12	26	44	65
Labour	82	53	24	13
Liberal/SDP	6	21	32	22

The Hackney public sector service class is over three times more likely to vote Labour than Crewe's figures would suggest and the private sector four times more likely. The support for the Conservative figures is nearly three times less likely for both sectors. Whilst the Alliance private sector vote does not vary significantly, for the public sector there is a dramatic difference: nationally approximately one third of the public sector middle class vote for the Alliance, but in Hackney they received only 6% of the vote.

The association between where respondents lived and how they vote is highly significant. Tables 9.19 and 9.20 summarise these differences for all Hackney residents (ie not just those in the service class) both by area and sector.

Table 9.19
Voting intention by Area
 (all respondents by three way vote)

Voting intention	De Beauvoir		North Defoe		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Conservative	33	34	11	11	44	22
Labour	42	43	83	81	125	63
Liberal/SDP	23	23	8	8	31	16
Total	98	100	102	100	200*	100

significance < 0.0001 Cramers V .27
 * 45 missing cases accounted for by either not voting or voting for minor party

Table 9.20
Voting intention by Sector
 (all respondents by three way vote)

	Public Sector		Private Sector		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Con	8	12	33	26	41	21
Lab	54	82	67	53	121	63
Lib/SDP	4	6	26	21	30	16
Total	66		126		192	
Significance 0.0004			Cramer's V .28451			

Tables 9.19 and 9.20 demonstrate a strong and significant difference within the sample in voting intention both by sector worked and between the two areas. In other words taking the whole sample, public sector workers are more predisposed to vote Labour and residents in North Defoe are more predisposed to vote Labour. When however, the area lived in is controlled for, the strength of the Labour vote across

sectors in North Defoe is demonstrated; in De Beauvoir the sectoral effect on voting remains (Table 9.21)

Table 9.21
Voting intention by employment sector controlling for area

Voting intention	De Beauvoir			North Defoe		
	Public Sector %	Private Sector %	Both Sectors %	Public Sector %	Private Sector %	Both Sectors %
Con	25	37	35	7	10	8
Lab	60	37	42	91	77	83
Lib/SDP	15	25	23	2	14	8
n	20	75	95	46	51	97
		Signif 0.1877; Cramers V 0.19		Signif 0.0878 ; Cramers V 0.23		

Table 9.22 crosstabulates vote by area controlling for sector. In both cases the association between direction of vote and area is significant.

Table 9.22
Voting intention by area controlling for sector

Voting intention	Public Sector			Private Sector		
	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	Both Areas %	De Beauvoir %	North Defoe %	Both Areas %
Con	25	7	12	37	10	26
Lab	60	91	82	37	76	53
Lib/SDP	15	2	6	25	14	21
n	20	46	66	75	51	126
		Signif 0.0092 Cramers V 0.38		Signif 0.0001 Cramers V 0.39		

There does therefore appear to be both an area effect and a sectoral effect. It is also clear that social class influences voting intention and, since sector, class and area are interrelated, it is unclear which is the most important effect.

Loglinear modelling is useful here for seeing which 'effects' influence the explanation; essentially a loglinear model looks to see whether adding additional variables significantly adds to the explanatory value of the model. In effect, it removes one variable at a time in order to see what effect that has on the significance between the remaining variables. The aim is to produce the most 'parsimonious' explanation. When the four variables (Vote[V], Sector[S], Class[C] and Area[A]) are entered into the

loglinear model, there are interactions between Vote, Area and Class [VAC], between Sector and Area [SA], and between Sector and Class [SC]. In other words, the third order effect, ie adding class, contributes significantly to the explanatory value of the model. Thus whilst the interaction between sector and class is a simple one, as is that between area and sector, the interaction between class, area and vote suggests that the effect that class has on voting is modified by where the respondent lives. This adds considerable weight to the claim made in the previous paragraph about the role played by where you live in how you vote, at least between the two areas in the survey. This in turn suggests that either the area attracts people who are likely to be 'deviant', in this case more likely to support the Labour party, or else that once they have moved they become socialized towards a particular way of voting. Given the nature of the data, this 'deviance' is mainly expressed in class terms in the effect that living in North Defoe appears to have on the likelihood of respondents in social class 1 voting for the Conservative party. These data do therefore suggest that there is a strong area, or 'locality' effect, at least between the two research areas. The causes of the greater propensity by respondents to vote Labour, compared to the service class nationally is methodologically beyond this data since there is no comparison group nationally. Nevertheless, it is possible to test the argument advanced by Savage (1990) and Crompton (1990) that the distinction between professional/administrative and managerial/technical SEGs is significant in accounting for divisions within the service class.

The data was recoded to investigate whether SEG had an effect on voting intention. The massive weighting towards professional and administrative SEGs, goes some way to explaining the overall tendency to support the Labour and Lib/SDP parties as indicated by Table 9.23

Table 9.23
Vote by Socio Economic Group (SEG)

SEG	Labour	Conserv- ative	Alliance	Total
	%	%	%	n
Managers	28	43	41	63
Profs	68	43	59	116
Others	5	14	0	12
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total n	120	42	29	191

Significance 0.0139
Cramers V 0.018

The effect of SEG is already therefore a consequence of area, given the disproportionate excess of professionals and absence of managers and technical workers. This contrast is probably even greater in that many public sector professionals have been coded as managers but do not share many of the attitudes of private sector managers. Nevertheless, despite these caveats, SEG does affect the way respondents voted as demonstrated in Table 9.23. This general point is demonstrated very clearly when a loglinear model is run with the variables Vote [V], Area [A], Sector [S] and SEG [G]. Three sets of two way interactions are shown - [VA] [VS] [SG], this indicates that there is an 'area effect' which cannot be subsumed under the distribution of either sector or SEG between the two areas.

Finally, following Dunleavy and Husbands (1985) and Saunders (1990), a number of other variables that might be associated with voting intention were also modelled; namely, Trade Union membership [T]; Private Health membership [P] ; Share-ownership [O] and finally Discipline of Degree¹⁸ [D]. The 'fully-saturated' model (ie with all the variables in) was thus [VSATPOD] out of which Vote [V] interacted only with shareownership [O] and discipline of degree [D], within the 0.05 level of confidence: [VO] [VD]

The association between voting intention and the discipline of respondent's degree [VD] is consistent with the argument advanced previously. Whilst this does not suggest that there is a relationship between what was studied at university and where the person

lives, it does suggest, when taken with the previous data on the 'area effect', that the higher education experience and the 'life style' decision about where to live have an important effect on the dependent variable of voting intention.

All this supports the argument that there is an inner London sub-set of the service class whose attitudes and values are largely formed whilst in higher education and it is this which predisposes many of its members to working in certain kinds of occupations which are broadly professional or administrative and London oriented. They are also attracted to living in inner city areas and there appears to be evidence from this research of some internal differentiation - implying that different sorts of people live in different areas and this, in turn, has some consequences for their social and political consciousness.

Conclusions

Most respondents had made a conscious decision and, in effect, commitment to living in inner London. When asked why they chose to live in London, as opposed to buying outside, approximately 80% said that they had not seriously considered the alternative. Of those who had, their reasons included partner's job, dislike of commuting, friends in London and the need to be near their work, but essentially it was a sense of wanting 'to be where the action was socially and culturally'. Their overwhelming reason was a negative view of suburban life, in the words of one respondent 'it's living death out there'.

To generalise: De Beauvoir respondents wanted to live in a gentrified inner suburb which, for many, was symbolised by having an N1 postcode, whilst those living in North Defford either had friends already living in the area or were attracted by its cultural infrastructure - the Stoke Newington stereotype of middle class radicalism may be a myth, but if so, it is, nevertheless, one that is lived and believed by many living there. Whatever people's initial reason for moving to the area, most respondents in both areas now felt committed to the area where they lived and over a third had moved more than once within the area.

This chapter has shown that the basic differences described in chapter seven between respondents and the service class nationally are borne out in terms of their political attitudes. The findings are broadly compatible with Savage's (1990) analysis of political divisions within the service class, which argued that those in administrative and professional sections were more likely to vote Labour. The differences described in this chapter though suggest that there is a large 'location effect' both between the service class nationally and the section of it living in inner London and also between sections of the inner London service class. It is suggested that these residential decisions are not entirely accidental or a consequence of how much one could afford to pay for housing, but reflect more long-standing and fundamental attitudes and values. The consequences of the findings from the last three chapters for an understanding of the inner London service class and divisions within the service class nationally are discussed in the final and concluding chapter.

¹This should not imply that 'coupledom' is the norm, indeed there is evidence that gentrification is closely associated with household structures which are 'abnormal' (McDonald 1984). At the same time, the idea that gentrified areas are only populated by young, single people is also a distortion; this research has shown a considerable number of established families with children - although both the family formation and the children are usually comparatively recent.

²It might be assumed that a significant proportion of the others who currently either did not have children or lived alone, would have children in the next decade and indeed many talked about the possibility in the course of the interview.

³It takes the educational status of the oldest child if there is more than one child, except for those who have left school in which case it refers to the eldest left at school.

⁴These dissatisfactions have now been officially confirmed by a recent (1990) HMI report on education in Hackney which is one of the most damning and critical reports ever issued although, against this, it has to be said that it was in part politically inspired by the Secretary of State who sent the Inspectors in.

⁵This is illustrated by the different perceptions about the likely consequences of abolishing the ILEA which was regarded as disastrous by three quarters of all respondents in North Defoe and just under half in De Beauvoir. The former regarded the ILEA as a means of ensuring that basic standards and resourcing were maintained in Hackney, since it was estimated that there was a net inflow of resources of about £61 million into the borough from the ILEA which would be lost.

⁶De Beauvoir respondents were more likely to undertake sporting activities.

⁷This question specifically excluded their working lives, where many had been directly affected, and was confined to their role as consumers of services.

⁸Which is attested to by a National Audit Office report produced in 1990 on the efficiency of local authority services in Hackney.

⁹ Yes indicates a service believed to be essential and No one that was not essential

¹⁰Only approximately a quarter of respondents felt that the council served the deprived adequately given the resource constraints. Approximately half of the respondents felt that the Labour party did not do a good job of managing the council and that they spent too much time pursuing pet political projects instead of running an efficient organization.

¹¹The survey work was carried out in 1988 when the poll tax had not yet become law and only 17% in De Beauvoir and less than 2% in North Defoe supported it without qualification whereas nearly half of De Beauvoir respondents and three quarters of North Defoe respondents were unequivocally opposed to it.

¹²It is tempting to say that this was the '1968 generation' beginning to 'settle down'.

¹³Of the remainder one person belongs to the Green party and two to the Socialist Workers Party!

¹⁴This might have been influenced by the fact that a council by-election was taking place during some of the time I was interviewing in the area

¹⁵Martin Wiener's thesis (Wiener 1985) about the decline in the industrial spirit may be relevant to this discussion. He points to the manner in which the British upper class through the public schools has traditionally steered members of the class away from industry and manufacturing. The City and finance capital has however been an acceptable career for the upper class as has journalism and the media. One consequence of this perhaps has been the unique division within British capitalism between finance capital and industrial capital. This may well be reflected in the formation of divisions within the service class.

¹⁶Marshall et al's definition of service class and that used in the Hackney survey is the combination of Goldthorpe social classes I and II, Crewe does not define what he means by Professional/Managerial but it is assumed to correspond broadly to the service class.

¹⁷Local elections are a rather different matter; whilst I was undertaking the research the Liberals won a local council ward by election in De Beauvoir taking it from Labour. This is not incompatible with the research findings which pointed, particularly in De Beauvoir, to people voting differently in local elections. In effect this meant the Liberals.

¹⁸The degree variable was dichotomized between Arts, Social Sciences and the Humanities on the one hand and Science, Technology and Business subjects on the other. The other variables were dichotomized, with the exception of Vote.

CHAPTER TEN:

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The initial thesis for this research was that the gentrification of Hackney in the mid 1970s was being undertaken predominantly by socially disaffected, and politically radical, middle-class professionals. As I have described in the Introduction, the focus soon switched to the 'class formation' of the gentrifiers and questions of differentiation within the service-class. There was however, as the data in the previous three chapters indicate, some truth in the initial thesis: service-class inhabitants in Hackney do appear to be more radical politically than the service-class nationally¹. The main implication of this finding is that there is considerable internal differentiation within the service-class and that this has a spatial dimension.

The data presented in the previous three chapters indicate that service-class members living in Hackney are more likely to come from a service-class background, to be better educated and to have higher incomes than the service-class nationally. The differences go beyond socio-economic and demographic characteristics, they are also cultural; broadly, respondents are, what might be termed, anti-suburban cosmopolitans. This contributes to their 'image of society', which is at variance with that of other sections of the service-class and, hence, is an important source of difference within the service-class (see Lockwood (1966) for a discussion of the concept of class images of society).

There seem to me to be two over-riding factors that distinguish the Hackney service-class from the class as a national entity: firstly, the absence of upwardly-mobile private sector managers and technocrats and, secondly, the absence of economically inactive females. Both of these factors, I believe, are helpful in understanding who, amongst the service-class, lives in Hackney and why they do so. Gentrification is a useful, but limited, concept; whilst, it may help explain the transformation of areas of

inner London, it does not account for the social and economic forces which have caused the equally spectacular growth of the service-class in the south and east of England.

In chapters two to four, it was proposed that gentrification is linked to processes of class formation and class restructuring. London's centrality to the national and international economy has become increasingly dominant in the global economic restructuring that has taken place in the last decade. Whilst restructuring largely explains the growth of service-class functions in the region, it does not, of itself, explain the attraction, to some sections of this class, of living in inner London areas such as Hackney. There is therefore a need to develop a model of the service-class, which can account for these forms of internal differentiation and their spatial representation.

I argued in chapters two and three that the sociology of the service-class is relatively underdeveloped and that it has polarized between those who concentrate on its class formation versus those concentrating on class position; it is also divided between those who see it essentially as one class as against those who see it as being internally divided (Goldthorpe 1980, 1982; Abercrombie and Urry 1983 and Lash and Urry 1987; Savage 1988, 1990; Crompton 1990). My own position is a development of that proposed by Crompton and Savage.

Initially, Savage (1988a) adopted a modified version of Eric Olin Wright's (1985b) class typology and explained the service-class, its internal divisions and its socio-political expression in relation to Wright's concept of 'asset'. He argued that the new sections of the service-class deploy 'skill assets', in contrast to the 'organization assets' of the more traditional members of the middle-class. This analysis allowed him to account for the often contradictory politics of the service-class; the data from which it was derived however, were restricted to a very narrow range of service-class respondents, working in managerial and higher technical occupations in the 'hi-tech' sunbelt of Berkshire and did not include professional or other service-class occupations in any significant numbers. In more recent work, Savage (1990) adopts a different strategy

towards understanding the divisions within, and forms of socio-political expression of, the service-class by comparing the voting behaviour of technical/managerial sections of the service-class with administrative/professional groups. This analysis demonstrates that the latter group are much more likely to favour welfare policies, whilst the former tend to show more support for market policies. He also demonstrates that there are linkages between these groups, their social backgrounds and voting intentions. In his earlier work (Savage 1988a), spatial considerations were uppermost but more recently they appear to have been relegated from centre-stage. Crompton (1990) makes a broadly similar argument whilst attempting to incorporate a spatial component into her account.

There is a danger, however, in this form of analysis which Pahl (1989) refers to as the 'Structure-Consciousness-Action' (SCA) mantra. Pahl questions whether the assumption that 'structure determines consciousness determines action', is the correct direction of causality, especially for non-subordinate social classes. He asks whether consciousness ought not to be given greater autonomy in explaining social action and also questions whether structure should be restricted to the sphere of production and should not include consumption. Warde (1991) in his discussion of gentrification and gender supports the view that consumption and other non-class determinants (notably gender) are important in understanding service-class behaviour (notably gentrification, which is a specific form of housing consumption). Gentrification is a spatially and class-specific form of consumption and needs to be explained as such².

It is tempting to explain the spatial differentiation within the service-class by reference to 'locality effects' (Duncan 1986). There do seem to be *prima facie* grounds for claiming that the divergence between the Hackney data and national data for the service-class is the result of a 'locality effect'; for instance, living in Hackney has an effect on voting behaviour, even taking into account the excessive proportion of administrative/professional workers and the under-representation of managerial/technical workers. The concept of a 'locality effect' was discussed at some length in chapter six when it was used as a criterion for selecting the survey area and I do not intend to repeat

that discussion here. The question of a 'locality effect' needs to be examined at two levels: firstly, what effect 'Hackney' has on attracting and retaining service-class members as residents, and secondly, what consequences living in Hackney has had on their socio-political attitudes and behaviour. I will look at these in order.

Does Hackney matter ?

The demographic and cultural differences which were discussed in the previous three chapters suggest that the service-class living in Hackney (and possibly elsewhere in inner London) is very different from that living outside inner London. One way in which sociologists have conceptualized these sorts of differences is by drawing distinctions between 'locals' and 'cosmopolitans' (Gans 1962); for instance, 'locals' value friends and acquaintances, as compared to 'cosmopolitans' who

"were more selective in their choice of friends and acquaintances and stressed the importance of confining themselves to friends with whom they could have fruitful intellectual interchange. These basic orientations were found by Merton to cut across intellectual and educational lines" (Hamnett 1973: 98)

Stacey (1968), quoted by Hamnett, argues that the higher the class the more national its orientation;

"The Upper classes of Banbury belonged to a national community with the West End of London as its "town centre", The Times as its local paper and certain national events such, eg Ascot, as its focal points" (Hamnett 1973: 99)

Whilst Merton (1968) may have been justified in arguing that the cosmopolitan/local distinction can cut across class lines, it is also a class-specific distinction. The critical factor - at least in the context of this discussion - is that the service-class has considerably greater freedom than other classes with respect to its 'cultural practices'; which are often manifested through consumption patterns (Warde 1991: 227). In this class-specific context, the distinctions between 'cosmopolitans' and 'locals' is relevant:

"Cosmopolitans tend to exhibit national and international orientations, as opposed to local ones. In this sense they comprise a community of interest as opposed to a territorial community. It has been suggested by Merton that cosmopolitanism cuts across class barriers. In terms of an 'effective' cosmopolitan life style, however, evidence suggests that it is very class based. Although cosmopolitans comprise, in Webber's terminology, a 'non-place community', some of them are attracted to the centres of large or capital cities where they are able to satisfy their informational and intellectual needs through the concentration of cultural facilities and others like themselves. Such 'centralists', ..., exhibit characteristics markedly at variance with national norms. They tend to be affluent, holding professional, managerial, executive or creative jobs. They also comprise smaller than normal households as a result of their position in the early or the late stage family cycle. Few of them have children, and they are rarely of school age" (Hamnett 1973: 118)

This raises a number of pertinent issues: firstly, it is also, of course, the case that many of those who are most deprived are also cosmopolitans but, in their case, they have relatively little choice about where to live and are driven to find housing and work in the inner-city not merely through economic deprivation but also because of prejudice and discrimination. This is so, but also partly misunderstands the 'cosmopolitan/local' dichotomy; it does not refer to spatial location but to what might be termed 'attitude of mind'³. In Gans' terminology, such people are 'trapped'; in other words, their choice is highly constrained. The implication of this is that choice, even constrained choice, involves a recognition that 'space matters'.

The second issue is the question of children and is complex: Hamnett (1973) notes that many of those with children were reluctant suburbanites and returned to the centre as soon as they could. It is now generally agreed that gentrification is not a 'back to the city movement', but one undertaken by those already living in the city (for example, Hamnett 1984a). The point about many of London's 'inner suburbs' (Hampstead, Islington and more recently Hackney) is that they are near the centre and also comprise family accommodation, thus permitting 'cosmopolitans' including dual-earners with children to remain in, or near to, the city centre.

Thirdly, the comment that 'cosmopolitans comprise ... a non-place community' is highly relevant. The point that gentrification can take place in rural areas has already

been made (Thrift 1987; Warde 1991). Pahl (1965) refers to the concept of 'place in mind' ie that it is what a place signifies which is important; this was demonstrated in chapter four with the discussion of style and gentrification and how that helped to cement the self-actualization of class for the newly-emergent service-class⁴.

The concept of cosmopolitans, when contextualized within a class framework, is therefore a useful taxonomic device for classifying service-class members who are attracted to living in inner London. This does not however explain which groups amongst the contemporary service-class are cosmopolitans, although the suggestion is that it is the more highly-educated, second generation members of the service-class. It is also more likely that they are drawn from new sections of the service-class, working in such industries as the media and advertising. Alternatively, if they are in more traditional professions (such as medicine or the law), they are likely to be working in its elite institutions which are concentrated in London (The Inns of Court, or teaching hospitals) and will be involved in policy-making and research as opposed to relatively routine practice.

The discussion so far has suggested that those who are drawn to Hackney are different from the service-class nationally in that they have a 'cosmopolitan' as opposed to 'local' outlook; they see themselves as part of a new class, whose reference group is national, and increasingly, international, and they are likely to work in professions which are at the forefront of social and economic restructuring. Only inner London can meet their needs both occupationally and intellectually - as it were, from 'five to nine' as well as 'nine to five'.

Lash and Urry's (1987) view on the role of the service-class in disorganizing capitalism is relevant to this discussion. They argue that, in Europe and Britain, the service-class is a recent phenomenon and can be distinguished from more traditional elite groups who have tended to be either those rich in economic capital and poor in cultural capital (the bourgeoisie), or those rich in cultural capital and economically relatively

deprived (the intellectuals)⁵. The former have tastes which are baroque and sumptuous whilst the latter's are restrained and ascetic (Lash and Urry 1987: 294) ⁶. Following from this, Lash and Urry identify two newly emergent groups within the contemporary European service class: the first of these is an upper group who combine possession of economic and cultural capital and thus transgress the boundaries between the economic and intellectual elites:

'Bourdieu elaborates a further grouping, the 'new bourgeoisie' which possesses considerable quantities of cultural as well as economic capital. It is comprised largely of private-sector executives, especially those active in the production of non-material products, in areas such as finance, or design. It is populated by individuals, unlike the bourgeois fraction of commercial and industrial employers, who are rarely from popular backgrounds. The new bourgeois, if in industry, is not in research and development but in finance; not in engineering but in marketing; not in production but in purchasing. He or she is part of an international class, is not only Francophone, but speaks English and reads the Financial Times or the Wall Street Journal; he or she partakes in an 'international symbol market', and eschews champagne for whisky, and apparently indulges in 'California sports' such as hang gliding, jogging and windsurfing. The new bourgeois according to Jameson imparts his ethos to post modern films like 'Diva'. According to Bourdieu he or she has a good chance of setting the taste patterns for the dominant class in France.' (Lash and Urry 1987: 294)

Lash and Urry identify a further group below this ('the lower echelons of the service-class') who they liken to a 'cultural petit-bourgeoisie' who are active in both private and public sectors creating new needs and tastes⁷:

'This new 'cultural' petit bourgeoisie includes those active in medical and social assistance (marriage guidance, sex therapists, dieticians, vocational guidance) and those involved in direct 'cultural reproduction and organization' (youth leaders, tutors and monitors, radio and TV producers and presenters, magazine journalists). The new petit bourgeoisie typically contains individuals whose quantity and quality of cultural capital does not tally well with other of their social characteristics and especially individuals whose educational qualifications are lower than their social capital and social origins. They, for example, often struggle to create jobs suited to their ambitions, even in the public sector in which semi-voluntary jobs have gained public-service status and local government finance. They can succeed through professionalization strategies, through struggles to legitimate new licenses and certifications partly through the promotion of a 'therapeutic morality' as legitimating ideology, in the case of for example, sexologists and marriage guidance counsellors. That is, partly in compensation and as a means to overcome inadequate or inappropriate

accumulation of cultural capital, a number of new petit bourgeois succeed through the promotion of new needs for and the actual creation of post-modern goods' (Lash and Urry 1987: 295)

Both groups are likely to be attracted to inner London; these two groups - the occupationally successful in conventional career terms and those whose relative lack of occupational success has not matched their possession of social and cultural capital - broadly coincide with the respondents in the survey I undertook.

As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, two groups are missing from Hackney: the upwardly mobile, Thatcher-supporting, private sector managers, and economically-dependent females. The latter might normally be expected to be economically dependent on the former. These two might constitute the group described by Savage (1988a) and his fellow researchers in Berkshire. The following model of the service-class might therefore be proposed⁸:

1. Upwardly-mobile managers and technocrats who support the radical conservatism of Thatcher who have been successful economically but negative towards established cultural and social capital (for example, as exemplified in Norman Tebbit's autobiography *Upwardly Mobile*). They see Thatcherism as genuinely radical and reforming, empowering the hardworking of humble origins in an individualist manner against a 'paternalist' statism which they see as middle-class self-interest. Few such people were found in Hackney, but they are present in Outer London and in the areas surrounding London (Savage 1988a).

2. Those described as semi-professionals by Lash and Urry (1987) who are a phenomenon of downward middle-class social mobility and whose cultural capital (university education and/or middle-class parentage) is not matched by their current lack of occupational success. Many lower and semi-professionals (who would include teachers and social workers but also those providing this group with cultural and personal services, such as therapy, restaurants, crafts etc) can be included in this group. They combine a strong sense of cultural identity

together with relative economic deprivation, although this is often experienced/rationalized as 'deprivation by choice' (opting out of the rat-race etc). They are different from those who are merely young and on a rising career trajectory, although there is some suggestion that ultimately many of them are becoming public sector managers (as opposed to disaffected semi-professionals) in their late thirties. They often compensate for relative economic success by culturally-conditioned low consumption goals and living in dual (or multi) earner households. There are many of these people in North Defoe both in state and self-employment and it is hard to see them living in suburbia.

3. Successful service-class members of different ages and levels who have built upon their privileged family background and entered a range of professional and other careers but retained a liberal orientation socially and politically. There are many such people in the sample, they are particularly concentrated in De Beauvoir but also form a significant minority in North Defoe. There is no a priori reason why many of them could not live elsewhere, they choose not to and are often involved in less routine aspects of professional work (for example within law or medicine). It is this group which is most difficult to separate from the traditional middle-class or other economically successful sections of the contemporary service-class, but the difference probably lies in their beliefs and shared 'cultural critical discourse' and can be correlated with their higher education background: broadly at elite institutions and in non-technical and non-science subjects.

The attraction of living in inner London is clear for both of the last two groups, and they may live in Hackney simply because they were unable to afford to buy an appropriate house in Islington or Camden. The differences between De Beauvoir and North Defoe may be significant in distinguishing between the two groups; the downwardly mobile would be attracted to the 'alternative' nature of Stoke Newington and the 'successful' to the ordered asceticism of De Beauvoir (particularly when

compared to the 'over the top' gentrification of nearby Islington either socially or in terms of houseprices).

Accident often played an important role in why people chose to live in Hackney, although their reasons for remaining are much clearer and more deliberate. They have remained there because the area largely meets their social, economic and cultural needs in ways that were described in chapter eight. This is not to suggest that they are necessarily delighted with the locality and its social relations, often it is what might be termed the 'least bad' alternative. Given the dual-earner status of many of the households, there is not the available household labour continually to make and remake new homes, which is one of the roles of the female in single-earner service-class families (Forest and Murie 1987). In such situations the attractions and benefits of inner city living outweigh the disadvantages, and the downside of the area is dealt with primarily by by-passing the locality and using services elsewhere (such as public education) or by purchasing them (such as private education).

Hackney is thus attractive as part of inner London, particularly to those with a commitment to alternative cultural values or with politically radical views and with an antipathy to the more consumerist gentrification allegedly found elsewhere in inner south, west and north-west London. For these people, Hackney is, or was, likely to be one of the first places to consider along with Haringey and Lambeth. These areas are also associated with their high-profile local, political culture. More specifically, Hackney's attraction is likely to include its geographical propinquity to the City and, crucially, the fact that it is, or was, a source of relatively spacious, stylistically sympathetic, and above-all, cheap housing near to the centre of London; the fact that residents had often lived there in rented accommodation as a student or at the start of their career, or their friends had, was an additional factor in its favour. The reasons for staying are likely to be similar, and in the case of those with children, the presence of like-minded families, in a similar situation, with minimal travel-to-work times and childcare networks tend to outweigh all the disadvantages. The 'Hackney effect'

therefore is not likely to be a determining reason for living in Hackney but the social and political *consequences* of living in an area like Hackney are rather more significant.

The Hackney effect

There is a fundamental problem for the service-class in Hackney; publicly-provided services are, by any account, grossly inadequate, as is the physical environment. The fact that many of these services are of little relevance to this group, because of its age-structure or relative affluence, only partly mitigates the problem, as does the fact they can often be obtained through the market.

Education is a case in point and is a problem that cannot be escaped by those with, or contemplating having, children. As we have seen, many respondents were committed to the concept of state provision, and were often active Labour party members, yet almost none of those living in De Beauvoir were educating their children in the local area. They had exercised their rights and/or skills to have them educated publicly elsewhere in London or had sent them to private schools. Most were embarrassed and concerned about what they had done, but, given the importance of credentialism in social reproduction, felt they had little alternative. The situation in North Defoe was somewhat different; although they were equally dissatisfied with the local state educational provision, they either felt unable for ideological reasons, or could not afford, to send their children to private schools. They therefore devoted considerable energies to trying to improve the quality of selected local schools which were regarded as 'OK'. This often had the consequence of widening the gap between 'their' schools and others locally and built on the inequalities that already existed. This was exacerbated by, but also encouraged, the increasing trend away from central control of schools by the local authority towards the local management of schools (LMS) and greater involvement of parents in school management.

The general point that I wish to make is that respondents remained attracted to living in the area but were faced with consequences, particularly if they had children,

which often contradicted their reasons for being there. The main attraction of living in inner London, in the first place, had been the excitement and quality of life it offered culturally and intellectually (the sense that it was 'living death out there' in the suburbs), as well as the opportunity to be 'at the centre of things' in their careers. The physical environment and low quality of service provision, which were initially part of the excitement, became, as they grew older, more of a problem. The fact that some of these services could be purchased did not resolve the problem; this was not simply because respondents found the idea morally repugnant but also because the quality of these services was often inferior to those provided by the state. Most respondents, for example, recognised that their private medical insurance only really covered them for minor, elective surgery; almost all those to whom I talked felt that, if they were seriously ill, the NHS would be able to look after them far better than the private sector. One respondent, a partner in a major accounting firm, had cancelled his private medical insurance after one of his children had received life-saving emergency treatment at Hackney children's hospital, on the grounds that his continued membership of BUPA would lead to further deterioration in public provision. In education, many parents who had, albeit reluctantly, decided to 'go private' then discovered that there was a dearth of private schools in London and that many were not very good; the competition to get into those that were good, necessitated parents sending their children into the private sector at four or five years of age.

For a generation that had been brought up on the welfare state, where many of the best schools were in the public sector, the realities of living in Hackney in the 1980s were profoundly disturbing. They had assumed that they could continue to combine private affluence and public provision: the middle-class, in their experience, had always benefited most from publicly provided health and education; now this was no longer the case. They had not, on the whole, even when they had been educated privately, been to private *boarding* schools and were unlikely to contemplate sending their children away from home for their education. On the other hand, the benefits of living near to the centre of London still outweighed the disadvantages. It was becoming a dilemma for

many respondents, and likely to become so for others; this was a fact that most of them acknowledged quite openly.

As Lash and Urry (1987) point out, the service-class in Britain, unlike in the United States, has been a relatively recent formation and developed during the post-war period when there was considerable state intervention in society and the economy. The state therefore was something to be taken for granted and, along with free university education, had enabled the service-class to maintain, or reach, its current social position with minimal economic hardship. Lash and Urry also argue that the service-class has played a key role in the 'disorganization' of 'organized capitalism' - their term for social and economic restructuring. The London-based service-class is more likely than most to have been involved in this restructuring, which has primarily involved a rapid move to marketization of services, including the public sector and professions. This group therefore, which was brought up under the shadow of the state, and had benefited disproportionately from the best of state-services, particularly free tertiary education, and which took welfare for granted, in many cases now found itself responsible for restructuring those services. In many cases, managers in state welfare services have only been able to preserve their service, and their position within it, by responding to larger economic changes and therefore, however unwillingly, they have been responsible for the ending of universalism in welfare. It is as residents in polarized, mixed-class inner-London residential areas that they have witnessed some of the visible consequences of this policy. During the first thirty years of the post-War welfare state, the service-class was able to use the state to enhance its position in both production and social reproduction; to put it crudely they were able to 'have their cake and eat it'. This is no longer the case.

One of the results of restructuring has been to cut back on the functions of the state and whilst the service-class may still benefit disproportionately (from tax relief on pensions and mortgages, from the fact that they tend be larger users of education and live longer), those living in inner-city areas are experiencing the consequences of these

changes, which in many cases they were helping to plan or implement in their worklives. Thus, despite a general commitment to social equality and universalistic area-based social provision, this has now resulted (as we have seen) in the pursuit of highly-individualised solutions to some aspects of welfare-provision, mainly in education and also, to a lesser extent, in health care. Thus the attractions of living in the inner city (being at the centre of things, interesting jobs, high wages, access to culture and the company of similar people), is increasingly mitigated by the failure of the system to provide the necessary services for social reproduction to which respondents were, for the most part, committed ideologically and politically.

On the whole, for most respondents (and the research was only concerned with those who stayed and not those who left) the benefits still outweigh the disadvantages. Nevertheless, the spatial consequences of this process were having a subtle, ironic and probably long-term effect on their political values: personal accommodations to market provision of services were being forced on them in ways that were probably not the case for the suburban service-class. In a sense, respondents were coming to live with the contradictions of their own lives; the irony is that their suburban counterparts, who are probably less ideologically committed to state provision, do not face such a direct crisis in collective state provision.

An example of this is that the provisions of the 1988 Education Act which allow secondary schools to opt-out of local authority control, have been vigorously opposed by those sections of the service-class charged with running the welfare state and their allies in the Labour party, but they are likely to be taken up by others desperate for 'good' secondary schools in areas like North Defoe. A generation, brought up on a diet of state education and for whom opting-out meant something quite different may, I predict, be responsible for taking Stoke Newington school out of local authority control in order to allow the service-class to continue to have the benefits of state sponsored social reproduction, without direct state control which is now seen as responsible for the decline in standards⁹.

It is therefore possible that the very group who built up the welfare state and who defended state provision the loudest against Mrs Thatcher in the 1980s, may be the one that will provide alternative models of organizing collective-consumption in the 1990s. Whether the Labour party will continue to be their political vehicle for doing this remains an open question; at a local level this looks unlikely, but nationally the alliance looks set to continue. Social progressives may once more have been those to have bailed capitalism out of crisis. This perhaps is not surprising given the role of free-floating intellectuals whose ideology is, in Gramsci's word, corporatist.

¹Political radicalism is defined by support for the Labour party both through party membership and voting support for it in general elections. This may seem a rather more reasonable definition of political radicalism in the politically polarized 1990s than it did in the largely consensual days of the mid-1970s when the 'radicals' tended to see the Labour party as much part of the conservative establishment as the Conservative party.

²Gentrification is not necessarily restricted to urban areas, it can also occur elsewhere, notably in the rehabilitation of country houses, cottages etc (Thrift 1987).

³The concept thus is similar to Toennies dichotomization between 'gemeinschaft' and 'gesellschaft', which refers not to place but attitude of mind.

⁴It is interesting that many of the people whom I interviewed said that if they moved, it would right out of the city into the country and that they would 'do up' an old property there. The idea of the rural idyll and inner-city gentrification have more in common in the minds of such people than might be thought.

⁵They acknowledge their debt to Bourdieu (1984) here.

⁶Lash and Urry characterize this dichotomy as being between 'organized and cultivated nature' and 'natural wild nature'. This would apply if comparisons were made between the neat orderliness of suburban parks and gardens and those of gentrified Hackney residences and Abney Park Cemetery. The distinction also applies between suburban neo-Georgian (or indeed mock-Tudor) houses and 'real' Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian houses in inner London.

⁷This quotation was used in chapter one, but is sufficiently important to be used again.

⁸This taxonomy owes much to a comment made by Michael Rustin on an earlier draft

⁹I personally know one school parent governor who has proposed such a course of action; to date the NUT has succeeded in opposing it going to a ballot and the parent has followed the De Beauvoir strategy of moving his child to another borough.

Department of Sociology
Head of Department:
Professor M J Rustin MA



Telephone:
01-590 7722

Ms Maria Stokes,
Flat 8, 73 Lordship Road,
LONDON N16 0QH

8th June 1988

Dear Ms Stokes ,

Social Change in Hackney Research Project

A major study of social and economic change in Hackney is being carried out at North East London Polytechnic in collaboration with members of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Open University. As part of this project, I am undertaking a survey into changes that have occurred in patterns of home ownership.

In order to find out more about these changes, I need to interview a representative group of people. Accordingly, I have identified from the Electoral Register a sample of households who have moved house during the last few years.

I have drawn up a questionnaire and I would be most grateful if you could spare me the time to go through it with you. May I state very clearly that any information you give to us will be treated in the strictest confidence and will be used solely for academic purposes. Furthermore, it will be impossible to identify any individual response in the statistical analysis.

Enclosed is a pre-paid FREEPOST card which you are asked to return indicating your willingness to help with the survey together with any dates and times that might be convenient - a telephone number for me to get back to you on would be most useful. If you have any queries or would like to discuss further the aims of the research, please do not hesitate to contact me on 01-590 7722 ext 5067 during office hours or 0255 880021 during the evening or at weekends.

Finally, I will gladly let you have a copy of the findings in due course; I very much look forward to hearing from you,

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Tim Butler'.

Tim Butler

Principal Lecturer in Sociology

Department of Sociology
Head of Department:
Professor M J Rustin MA



Telephone:
01-590 7722

Mr John Fahey,
126 Martaban Road,
LONDON N16 0SX

30th June 1988

Dear Mr Fahey ,

Social Change in Hackney Research Project

I wrote to you recently asking if you would agree to be interviewed in connection with the above project. I am particularly keen to interview people who have bought their present house in the last six years.


Since I have not heard from you, I am writing again to ask for your co-operation. I should be very grateful if you would return the enclosed card (which does not require a stamp) so that I can contact you to arrange an interview at a mutually convenient time. Alternatively please leave a message on one of the telephone numbers listed below.

I realise that you must lead a very busy life but I really would appreciate it if you could spare me a bit of your time to help with this research - the interview will take about forty five minutes. I will of course fit in with whatever is most convenient for you as far as time and place are concerned.

I should stress once again that any information you give me will be treated in the strictest confidence and will be used solely for academic purposes. Furthermore, it will be impossible to identify any individual response in the statistical analysis.

If you would like to discuss further the aims of the research, please do not hesitate to contact me on 01-590 7722 ext 5067 during office hours or 0255 880021 during the evening or at weekends. Please leave a message on the answering machine if I am not there and I will call you back.

I look forward to hearing from you.
Yours Sincerely,


Tim Butler
Principal Lecturer in Sociology

Hackney Survey

1-3 ID

Respondent Code.....

Record

Address Code

4

5-6

Type of building respondent is resident in:

- Terrace house ☐ 1
- Semi detached house ☐ 2
- Detached House ☐ 3
- Purpose built flat ☐ 4
- Converted Flat ☐ 5
- Maisonette ☐ 6
- Other ☐ 7

7

Respondent's Sex:

- Male ☐ 1
- Female ☐ 2

8

1. Could you tell me whether you are the owner or joint owner of this house/flat, or whether there is another owner ?

- Sole owner ☐ 1
- Joint owner ☐ 2
- Tenant of owner ☐ 3
- Partner/spouse of owner ☐ 4
- Other ☐ 5
- Tenant ☐ 6
- Don't know ☐ 7

9

I would like to start by asking some questions about your background:

2. Where were you brought up ?

- London ☐ 01
- Home Counties ☐ 02
- Elsewhere in the South and East ☐ 03
- The Midlands ☐ 04
- The North ☐ 05
- Wales ☐ 06
- Scotland ☐ 07
- Ireland ☐ 08
- 'New Commonwealth & Pakistan' ☐ 09
- Other Commonwealth ☐ 10
- EEC ☐ 11
- Elsewhere ☐ 12

10-11

3.

Do your family still live there ?

Yes

No

☐ 1

☐ 2

12

4

What is your father's job (or his most recent job) ?

.....

1. Higher professional administrative and managerial

2. Lower professional administrative and managerial

3a. Routine non manual: higher grade

3b. Routine non manual: lower grade

4. Small employer, proprietor and self employed

5. Lower technical and manual supervisory

6. Skilled manual

7. Semi-skilled & unskilled manual

8. Unemployed

9. Other

☐ 01

☐ 02

☐ 03

☐ 04

☐ 05

☐ 06

☐ 07

☐ 08

☐ 09

☐ 10

13-14

5

Did your mother work during any of the time you were at school ?

Full time

Part time

Not gainfully employed

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

15

6

Does she work now ?

Full time

Part time

Not gainfully employed

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

16

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 8: OTHERWISE ASK:

7. What is your mother's job (or her most recent job) ?

.....

1. Higher professional administrative and managerial

2. Lower professional administrative and managerial

3a. Routine non manual: higher grade

3b. Routine non manual: lower grade

☐ 01

☐ 02

☐ 03

☐ 04

4. Small employer, proprietor and self employed ☐ 05
5. Lower technical and manual supervisory ☐ 06
6. Skilled manual ☐ 07
7. Semi-skilled & unskilled manual ☐ 08
8. Unemployed ☐ 09
9. Other ☐ 10

17-18

8 Did your parents own their house when you lived at home

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

19

IF YES GO TO QUESTION 10; OTHERWISE ASK:

9. Have they subsequently bought their own house ?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

20

I would now like to turn to what kind of education you had

10 What type of secondary school did you go to ? (If more than one ask for last attended)

- Comprehensive ☐ 1
- Grammar ☐ 2
- Secondary Modern ☐ 3
- Public ☐ 4
- Direct Grant ☐ 5
- Other ☐ 6

21

11 What age did you leave ?

- 15/16 ☐ 1
- 17/18 ☐ 2
- Don't Know ☐ 3

22

12 With what qualifications did you leave ? (Enter highest gained)

- None ☐ 1
- CSE ☐ 2
- O Levels ☐ 3
- A Levels ☐ 4
- Other (eg Scottish) ☐ 5

23

13 Did you go on to Higher Education ?

- Yes, straight from school ☐ 1
- Yes, straight from school ☐ 2
- Yes, later as a mature student ☐ 3
- No ☐ 4

24

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 18 OTHERWISE ASK:

14 Where did you go to for your Higher Education?

-
- University:
- Oxbridge ☐ 1
 - Redbrick ☐ 2
 - Plateglass ☐ 3
 - Polytechnic ☐ 4
 - College of Higher Education ☐ 5
 - Teacher Training College ☐ 6
 - Other ☐ 7

25

15. What did you study ?

-
- Arts & Humanities ☐ 1
 - Social Science ☐ 2
 - Science, Technology & Engineering ☐ 3
 - Business Studies ☐ 4
 - Law or Accountancy ☐ 5
 - Other ☐ 6

26

16. Did you go on to gain a post graduate qualification ?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

27

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 18: IF YES ASK:

17. What qualification did you gain ?

- MA/MSc/Mphil ☐ 1
- PhD ☐ 2
- Professional Qualification (eg Law) ☐ 3
- Other ☐ 4

28

18. Do you have any other post school qualifications and, if so, what are they ?

- ONC ☐ 1
- HND ☐ 2
- City & Guilds ☐ 3
- Other Diploma/Certificate ☐ 4
- Other ☐ 5
- No ☐ 6

29

I would now like to ask you some questions about your household and how you came to the decision to set up house in this part of Hackney

19 How long have you lived here ?

- Less than a year ☐ 1
- 1 to 3 years ☐ 2
- 3 to 5 years ☐ 3
- 5 to 10 years ☐ 4
- 10 to 15 years ☐ 5
- 15 to 20 years ☐ 6
- More than 20 years ☐ 7

30

20 Do you share this flat/house with anyone else, if so whom ?

- Husband ☐ 1
- Wife ☐ 2
- Partner ☐ 3
- Other (eg collective) ☐ 4
- No ☐ 5

31

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 23; OTHERWISE ASK:

21 Is this the first house that you have both had together ?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

32

IF NO GO TO QUESTION QUESTION 23; IF YES ASK:

22 Did either of you own a house before ?

- Both ☐ 1
- Self ☐ 2
- Partner ☐ 3
- Neither ☐ 4

33

IF YES GO TO QUESTION 24; IF NO ASK:

23. What was your previous form of housing tenure ?

- Owner Occupation ☐ 1
- Council Rented ☐ 2
- Housing Association ☐ 3
- Private Rented ☐ 4
- Living with Family ☐ 5
- Living with Friends ☐ 6

34

24. How long were you resident at your previous residence ?

- Less than a year ☐ 1
- Between 1 and 3 years ☐ 2
- Between 3 and 5 years ☐ 3
- More than 5 years ☐ 4

35

25. Where was your previous residence ?

.....			
Same area	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
Central London	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
Inner London	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
Outer London	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
Home Counties	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	
Elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	36

26. Could you tell me briefly the main reasons why you moved from your previous residence ?

	V.Imp	Quite	Not	
Wanted to a own your own home	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	37
Wanted to get on the housing ladder	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	38
Wanted bigger property	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	39
Wanted to be nearer job	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	40
Wanted to trade up	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	41
Wanted a garden	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	42
Moved because of change in job	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	43
Moved because job location changed	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	44
Change in financial circumstances	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	45
Change in household circumstances	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	46
To get away from shared household	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	47
Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	48

ASK ONLY IF NOT PREVIOUSLY AN OWNER OCCUPIER

27. Why did you decide to buy as opposed to rent a home ? 49

.....
.....

28. Has the membership of your household changed from your previous residence?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	50

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 30: IF YES ASK:

29. How have your circumstances changed

A. Married/living with a partner	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
B. Divorced/separated from partner	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
C. Changed partner	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
D. Children born	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
E. Children left home	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	
F. Moved from friends/family home	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	
G. Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	51

30 When you began looking for somewhere to buy, did you:

A. First work out the maximum price that you could afford, then look at different areas ? ☐ 1

B. First decide you wanted to live in this area, then look within your price range ? ☐ 2

C. First decide that you wanted to live in Hackney and then look at various areas within the borough ? ☐ 3

52

31. What, in the end, made you decide to buy in this particular area ?

.....

	Yes	No	
The price ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	53
Liked the street?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	54
Journey to work ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	55
Social mix ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	56
Friends in area ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	57
Liked the area ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	58
Liked the house ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	59
Needed to be in the area ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	60
Garden ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	61

32. What alternative areas did you consider, if any ?

.....

	Yes	No	
Elsewhere in borough	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	62
Islington	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	63
Haringey	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	64
Lambeth	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	65
Southwark	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	66
Kensington & Chelsea	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	67
Camden	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	68
Waltham Forest	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	69
Tower Hamlets	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	70
Elsewhere in Inner London	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	71
Elsewhere in Outer London	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	72

33. Did you consider buying outside London?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

73

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 35: OTHERWISE ASK:

34.	What decided you on London in the end ?		
		
	Not a great deal of difference between house costs in and outside London	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Cost of commuting	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Social ties in London	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	Wanted to live in London	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
	Job ties in London for both partners	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	74
35.	In deciding to buy where you did, how important a consideration was the likely increase in capital value of the property ?		
	Very important	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Quite important	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Not important	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	75
36.	Would you mind telling me how much you paid for the property?		
	£.....		76-78
			Record
37.	What amount of mortgage did you get ?		1-3 ID
	£.....		4
			5-7
38.	What do you reckon its worth now ?		
	£.....		8-10
39.	Did you have difficulties in obtaining the mortgage and, if so, why ?		
	No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	The amount	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	The area	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	The property	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	11
40.	Were there conditions attached to the mortgage for repairs ?		
	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Retention	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	No	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	12
41	How did you finance the balance ?		
	Previous property	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Savings	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Loan	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	Gift/interest free loan	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
	Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	
	100%	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	13

42 Have you remortgaged or taken out a further advance ?

- Yes☐ 1
- No☐ 2

14

IF NO THEN GO TO QUESTION 44: IF YES ASK:

43. For what purpose ?

- Improvements/Repairs☐ 1
- Repay Loans☐ 2
- Other expenditure (specify)☐ 3

15

44. Have you carried out any improvements

- Yes☐ 1
- No☐ 2

16

IF NO THEN GO TO QUESTION 52 : IF YES ASK:

45. What have these been ?

- | | Yes | No | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----|
| Damp-proof course, wood treatment | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 17 |
| Decorating | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 18 |
| Installing Central Heating | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 19 |
| New bathroom | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 20 |
| New kitchen | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 21 |
| New roof | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 22 |
| Other (specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 23 |
| Rewiring | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 24 |
| Structural eg knocking through | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 25 |

46. How much do you estimate you have spent on improving the property ?

£.....

26-27

47. Have you done a substantial amount of the work yourself ?

- Yes☐ 1
- No☐ 2

28

IF DIY THEN ASK QUESTION 48: OTHERWISE GO TO QUESTION 51

48. Did you have any help ?

- Yes☐ 1
- No☐ 2

29

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 50: IF YES ASK:

49. Who did you get this help from:

	Yes	No	
Family	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	30
Friends	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	31
Professionals	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	32

50. Would you do it again ?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	33

51. In carrying out repairs and improvements what were your major considerations ?

	Yes	No	
Adding to the capital value ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	34
Fulfilling mortgage requirements ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	35
Maintaining the integrity of the structure	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	36
Making it more habitable ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	37
Providing more living space ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	38
Improving the attractiveness of the house	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	39

52. Do you intend to carry out any (further) improvements and if so what?

.....			
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1		
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2		
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3		40

I would now like to ask some questions about the structure and organization of the household and household tasks

53. How many adults are there in the household (specify no)?

.....		41
-------	--	----

54. Does this include any lodgers or tenants ?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	42

55. Normally, how often do you eat 'take-aways' at home in place of a cooked meal ?

More than once a week	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
Roughly once a week	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	43

56. Normally, how often do you eat out in a restaurant?
- About once a week ☐ 1
 - About once a fortnight ☐ 2
 - About once a month ☐ 3
 - Rarely ☐ 4

44

I would now like to ask some questions about children and childcare

57. Do you have any children (specify how many.) ?
-

45

IF NONE THEN SKIP TO END OF NEXT SECTION AND ASK QUESTION 68

58. Are they looked after by anyone other than a parent on a regular basis ?
- Nanny ☐ 1
 - Childminder ☐ 2
 - Council Day Nursery ☐ 3
 - Private Day Nursery ☐ 4
 - Relative ☐ 5
 - Rota amongst friends etc ☐ 6
 - Other eg after school club ☐ 7
 - No ☐ 8

46-47

59. How do you organize childcare between yourselves ?
- Share fairly evenly ☐ 1
 - Male predominantly ☐ 2
 - Female predominantly ☐ 3

48

I would now like to ask you some questions about locally provided services and how much you use them and value them.

Education

60. Do you have children of school age ?
- Primary school age ☐ 1
 - Secondary ☐ 2
 - Primary and Secondary ☐ 3
 - No ☐ 4

49

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 68 OTHERWISE ASK:

61. Where are they at school ?		
ILEA within Hackney	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
Other ILEA	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
Other LEA	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
Private	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	50
<u>IF NOT BEING SCHOOLED IN HACKNEY ASK: OTHERWISE GO TO 63</u>		
62. Why are they not being schooled in Hackney ?		
.....		
Historical reasons; eg lived elsewhere previously	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
General dissatisfaction with State provision	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
Unsatisfactory nature of ILEA	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
Dissatisfaction with Hackney schools	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
Marital break up	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	51
63. Would you (or did you) consider moving out of Hackney for your children's education?		
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
Yes, at secondary school age	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	52
64. What alternatives to secondary education in Hackney, did you (or would you) consider at secondary school age ?		
Stay on at school in Hackney	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
Stay on in ILEA elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
Other LEA	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
Private	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	53
65. Do you pay for your children to receive extra private tuition ?		
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	54
66. What, briefly, is your opinion of the education that they are receiving?		
.....		
Very satisfied	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
Satisfied	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
Dissatisfied	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
Very dissatisfied	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	55

67. Do you think that their school would be improved if it became independent from the ILEA and was funded directly by the DES ?
- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2
- Don't Know ☐ 3

56

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS

68. What likely effect do you think the break-up of the ILEA will have on the school system?
- Improve ☐ 1
- None ☐ 2
- Worsen ☐ 3
- Don't Know ☐ 4

57

Health

69. What generally do you think of health care provision in the borough ?

.....

Good ☐ 1

Satisfactory ☐ 2

Poor ☐ 3

Very poor ☐ 4

58

70. Do you have private health care insurance ?
- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

59

IF YES GO TO QUESTION 72 OTHERWISE ASK:

71. Have you ever considered taking out private health care insurance ?

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

60

What are the reasons for your answer?

.....

.....

61

Transport

72. Do you have your own car(s) ? (specify number)

.....

62

73. How regularly do you use Public Transport ?

- Daily ☐ 1
 Weekly ☐ 2
 Rarely ☐ 3
 Never ☐ 4

63

What use do you make of the following locally provided services:

74. Hackney Libraries

- Regularly ☐ 1
 Some ☐ 2
 Rarely ☐ 3
 None ☐ 4

64

75. Sports and Leisure Centres eg swimming pools

- Regularly ☐ 1
 Some ☐ 2
 Rarely ☐ 3
 None ☐ 4

65

76. Parks

- Regularly ☐ 1
 Some ☐ 2
 Rarely ☐ 3
 None ☐ 4

66

77. Community Centres etc

- Regularly ☐ 1
 Some ☐ 2
 Rarely ☐ 3
 None ☐ 4

67

78. Is there any service(s) provided by the London Borough of Hackney that you particularly value ? (Please Specify)

.....

68

79. Much has been said about about the extent to which cuts have occurred in local services over the last few years, how much do you personally feel affected by such claimed reductions ?

- A lot ☐ 1
 Some ☐ 2
 Hardly at all ☐ 3
 None ☐ 4
 Don't Know ☐ 5

69

80.	How do you feel about cuts in general ?			
	A disaster	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
	A good thing	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
	Gone too far	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
	Unfortunate but necessary	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
	Pointed to inefficiency	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	
	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	70
81	Given the reality of central government policies to reduce the money available to Local Authorities, what strategy do you feel that Local Authorities should pursue?			
			
			
	Protect services at any cost	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
	Prioritise essentials and drop frills	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
	Reduce services incrementally	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
	Privatise services	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
	Increase efficiency of existing provision	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	
	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	71
82.	What local services do you feel are essential and which do you feel are luxuries ?			
			
			
		EssentialNot		
	Leisure Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	72
	Environmental Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	73
	Housing	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	74
	Social Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	75
	Equal Opportunities	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	76
	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	77
	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	78
83.	Would you personally be prepared to pay more in rates to enable the council to offer improved local services ?			
	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	
	Yes, depends which services	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	
	Yes, If more efficiently delivered	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	
	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	
	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	79

84. Are you in favour of the proposed community charge or poll tax ?
- Yes ☐ 1
 - Yes but concerned about the practicalities ☐ 2
 - No ☐ 3
 - No but not in favour of rates ☐ 4
 - Don't Know ☐ 5

80

There has been a lot of discussion recently over shifting political allegiances I would be grateful if you could answer the following questions on your political attitudes

Personal allegiances

85. Do you belong to any political party ?
- Yes ☐ 1
 - No ☐ 2

81

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 87: IF YES ASK:

86. Which one ?
- Labour ☐ 1
 - Conservative ☐ 2
 - Liberal ☐ 3
 - SDP ☐ 4
 - Other ☐ 5

Record
1-3 ID
4.

5

Personal identifications

87. If there were a general election tomorrow which party would you vote for ?
- Labour ☐ 1
 - Conservative ☐ 2
 - Liberal ☐ 3
 - SDP ☐ 4
 - Other ☐ 5

6

88. Did the way you voted at the general election represent a change in the way you voted previously?
- Yes ☐ 1
 - No ☐ 2

7

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 90: IF YES ASK:

89.	Which direction did you change your vote ?		
	Alliance to Conservative	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Alliance to Labour	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Conservative to Alliance	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	Conservative to Labour	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
	Labour to Alliance	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	
	Labour to Conservative	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	
	Other (note)	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	8

90	Would you vote for a different party at a local election ?		
	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	9

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 92; IF YES ASK:

91.	Which party would you vote for in a local election ?		
	Labour	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Conservative	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Liberal	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	SDP	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
	Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	10

Expectations:

92.	In deciding how to cast your vote at the last general election, what were the major factors that determined your decision ?		
		
		11

93.	What do you think of the way that Labour have run Hackney over the last three or four years ?		
		
	Very badly	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Not very well	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	OK in the circumstances	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	Well	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
	Very well	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	
	Too concerned about politics	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	
	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	12

94. How effectively do you feel Council's policies meet the needs of deprived local people ?
-
-
- | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|----|
| Very effectively | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | |
| Well in the circumstances | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | |
| Not very effectively | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | |
| Not at all | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | 13 |

I would like to know a little about what are your main leisure activities.

95. What would you describe as being your main leisure time activities ?
-
-
- 14
96. Do you regularly engage in Sport or a Keep Fit activity ? (specify)
- | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|----|
| Yes..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 15 |
97. Do you regularly:
- | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----|
| | Yes | No | |
| Go to the cinema | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 16 |
| Go to the theatre | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 17 |
| Go to Art Galleries | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | 18 |
98. On average how often would you say that you go out each week
- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|----|
| Once a week | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | |
| Twice a week | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | |
| More than twice | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | 19 |

Holidays

99. How many holidays have you taken in the last year ? (specify).....
- 20
100. Do you own a second or holiday home ?
- | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|----|
| Yes (UK) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | |
| Yes (Abroad) | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | 21 |

What newspapers and magazines, if any, do you read on a regular basis:?

101. Daily

- Guardian ☐ 1
- Independent ☐ 2
- Times ☐ 3
- Daily Telegraph ☐ 4
- Daily Mail ☐ 5
- Today ☐ 6
- Financial Times ☐ 7
- None ☐ 8

22-23

102. Weekly etc

- New Statesman ☐ 1
- New Scientist ☐ 2
- New Society ☐ 3
- Spectator ☐ 4
- Listener ☐ 5
- Economist ☐ 6
- Private Eye ☐ 7
- None ☐ 8

24

103. 'Which?'

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

25

I would now like to ask you some questions about how you earn your living and your financial circumstances

104. Please would you describe your present occupation ?

.....

26-27

105. What is your employer's business ?

.....

- Public Sector: Central Government ☐ 01
- Public Sector: Local Government ☐ 02
- Public Sector: Other (specify) ☐ 03
- Voluntary Sector ☐ 04
- Private Sector: Finance and Commerce ☐ 05
- Private Sector: Manufacturing ☐ 06
- Private Sector: Services ☐ 07
- Private Sector: Other (Specify) ☐ 08
- Profession (Specify) ☐ 09
- Self employed ☐ 10
- Other (Specify) ☐ 11

28-29

106	How long have you worked for them ?		
	Less than 1 year	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	1 to 3 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	3 to 5 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	5 to 10 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
	More than 10 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	30
107.	Where is your place of work ?		
		
	City	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Other Central London	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Hackney	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	Other Inner London	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
	Outer London	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	
	Elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	
	Home	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	31
108	Do you belong to a trade union ?		
	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	32
<u>IF NO GO TO QUESTION 110: IF YES ASK</u>			
	109. Which one (specify)		
		
	What are your reasons for belonging		
		
		33
110.	Does your partner work ?		
	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Not applicable	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	34
<u>IF NO GO TO QUESTION 114 IF YES ASK:</u>			
	111. What is his/her present occupation ?		
		35-36
	112. What is his/her employer's business ?		
		
	Public Sector: Central Government	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	
	Public Sector: Local Government	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	
	Public Sector: Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	
	Voluntary Sector	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	
	Private Sector: Finance and Commerce	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
	Private Sector: Manufacturing	<input type="checkbox"/> 06	

- Private Sector: Services ☐ 07
- Private Sector: Other (Specify) ☐ 08
- Profession (Specify) ☐ 09
- Self employed ☐ 10
- Other (Specify) ☐ 11

37-38

113. Where is his/her place of work ?

-
- City ☐ 1
- Other Central London ☐ 2
- Hackney ☐ 3
- Other Inner London ☐ 4
- Outer London ☐ 5
- Elsewhere ☐ 6
- Home ☐ 7

39

114. Please could you tell me your gross annual pay before deductions, if you are employed ? (*Show Card B*)

- A. Less than £10,000 pa ☐ 1
- B. Between £10-15,000 pa ☐ 2
- C. Between £15-20,000 pa ☐ 3
- D. Between £20-30,000 pa ☐ 4
- E. Between £30-40,000 pa ☐ 5
- F. Between £40-50,000 pa ☐ 6
- G. Between £50-60,000 pa ☐ 7
- H. More than £60,000 pa ☐ 8

40

Do you or your partner receive any of the following fringe benefits:

115. Company car

- Self ☐ 1
- Partner ☐ 2
- Both ☐ 3
- No ☐ 4

41

116. Subsidised mortgage

- Self ☐ 1
- Partner ☐ 2
- No ☐ 3

42

117. Season ticket

Self:

Free

☐ 1

Loan

☐ 2*Partner:*

Free

☐ 3

Loan

☐ 4

No

☐ 5

43

118. Private health care

Self:

Free

☐ 1

Subsidised

☐ 2*Partner:*

Free

☐ 3

Subsidised

☐ 4

No

☐ 5

44

119. Share options in your company

Self

☐ 1

Partner

☐ 2

No

☐ 3

45

120. Other: (please specify)

Self.....

Partner.....

46

121. Do you own any shares or unit trusts ?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

47

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 125 OTHERWISE ASK:

122. Did you (or your partner) own shares prior to the government's privatisation programme ?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

48

123. Have you (or your partner) bought shares in any of the privatisation share offers ?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

49

124. Have you (or your partner) subsequently bought shares in other companies ?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

50

125.	What is your attitude to share ownership ?		
	Not personally in favour	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Good thing for the country	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Good thing for individuals	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	
	Risky - speculation	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	
	Principled opponent	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	
	Other.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	
	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	51
126.	Would you mind telling me what (other) forms of savings you (or your partner) have ?		
	Building society	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
	Life Assurance	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
	Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	52
127.	Please could you give me an estimate of your total gross annual household income including bonuses, investments, state benefits etc. by indicating which of these groups it falls into? (Show Card C)		
	A. Less than £10,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 01	
	B. Between £10-15,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 02	
	C. Between £15-20,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 03	
	D. Between £20-30,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 04	
	E. BBetween £30-40,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 05	
	F. Between £40-50,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 06	
	G. Between £50-60,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 07	
	H. Between £60-70,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 08	
	J. More than £70,000 pa	<input type="checkbox"/> 09	53-54
128.	Please could you tell me your age ?		55-56

**Finally I would be grateful if I could ask you some more
general questions about the future**

129 How do you see your career(s) developing ?

130. Will be staying here or moving on and, if so, where to ?

131. Do you think this is a pleasant place to live ? What are the positive and negative aspects of living in this area as far as you are concerned ?

132. How would you describe your 'quality of life' ?

Is there anything else that you would like to add - particularly on changes that have taken place in the area over recent years and how they affect both you and other local residents ?

Thank you very much for your time

Respondent's Occupation

Freelance Editor
 Construction Manager - Mowlem
 DP Manager - Lloyds brokers
 Solicitor - salaried partner
 Sales Representative - Xerox
 Lecturer - Central School of Art&Design
 Commercial Analyst - BP
 Stockbroker - James Capel
 Personal Secretary - Solicitor
 Administrator - Medical School
 Director: Market Research
 Market Planning Manager
 Chartered Accountant
 TV Producer BBC
 University Lecturer
 Plant Hire Shop Proprietor
 Chartered Accountant
 Town Planner LBI
 Managing Director - Computer Bureau
 Accountant - Manufacturing Company
 Talks Writer BBC external services
 Conference Organiser - Self Employed
 Solicitor - partner
 Social Researcher - SCPR
 Music Agent
 Economic Consultant
 Social Work Area Manager - Newham
 Development Manager Saatchi & Saatchi
 PR Manager Wang Computers
 Personnel Manager - DE
 Food Buyer Marks and Spencer
 Management Consultant
 Midwife
 Data Comms Manager BT
 City Assistant Solicitor
 Filing clerk ACTT
 City Solicitor - partner
 Design Director for Clothing Co
 Quantity Surveyor
 BBC Researcher
 Audit Manager - Price Waterhouse
 Training as opera singer
 Estate Agent
 Food Writer - Egon Ronay Guide
 Picture Researcher
 Musician
 Graphic Designer
 Freelance Marketing consultant
 none
 Freelance Knitting Designer
 Senior Partner Solicitor
 Goldsmith self employed
 Housewife
 Government Lawyer
 Stockbroker
 Assistant Solicitor
 Director NOP Market Research
 Barrister
 None - wants to teach

Respondent's Partner's Occupation (if applicable)

Barrister
 none
 na
 Trainee solicitor
 na
 Lecturer South Thames College
 Arts Administrator
 Housing Officer - Barbican
 na
 Student - London Business School
 na
 na
 Teacher
 na
 University Lecturer
 Nurse
 PR consultant
 Director of Advertising BT
 Student
 Accountant - Partner
 na
 na
 Barrister
 Careers Officer
 Administrator for above
 na
 Social Worker - Islington
 Teacher Redbridge
 Freelance Book Distributor
 na
 na
 Management Consultant
 na
 Charity Administrator
 Research Fellow Broadcasting Unit
 na
 na
 Director of Retail Clothing Co
 Personnel Manager NHS
 na
 Assistant Solicitor
 Music Agent
 Estate Agent
 na
 na
 Textile Designer
 Author
 Freelance Training Consultant
 na
 na
 none
 Office Manager Pharmaceutical Association
 Advertising Account Planner - Saatchi & Saatchi
 na
 Secretary
 Writer
 Housing Administrator - Bank
 Assistant Solicitor
 Financial Adviser - Allied Dunbar

Teacher ILEA off-site	Criminologist Middlesex Polytechnic
Partner in Piano family business	na
Career Diplomat	none - expecting
Financial Director Music Agent	Personnel Manager PT
Freelance Film Director	Fashion Designer
Retired Teacher; Ceramic Restorer	Graphic Design : London College of Printing
Solicitor Prtner in City Practice	none
Design Engineer	Solicitor
Italian Sausage Maker	Italian Sausage Maker
Architect	none
Foreign Exchange Options Dealer	na
Trainee Accountant	na
Travel Agent	na
Carpenter Film Location	Production Assistant Film Production
Musical Instrument Maker	PA to Magazine Editor
Plumber	Nurse - private consultant
Manuscript Librarian - British Library	PT Manager of GP Practice
General Practioner - locum currently	not working (GP)
Systems Analyst: MInistry of Defence	na
Manager in Design Company	Director of TV trade association
Artist	na
Channel 4 Commissioning Editor	Channel 4 Commissioning Editor
Head User Services at UCL	Freelance Lecturer at National Portrait Gallery
Postgraduate student in Librarianship PNL	na
PL at NELP	Editor with ILEA
Senior Lecturer in Economics @ OU	Advisory Teacher Ealing
Artist	Artist
Fine Art Dealer	Antiques Shop Owner
Housewife	Solicitor - partner in city firm
Own Marketing Companies	na
Graphic Designer - partner	Graphic Designer - freelance
Director of Charity for elderly	Manager of barristers' chambers
Sound Engineer - owner of recording studio	na
Consultant Physician - Freelance/Shell UK	Freelance Tour Operator
Assistant Solicitor	Assistant Solicitor
Distribution Manager for Film Company	na
Rights Manager - Readers' Digest	Chartered Quantity Surveyor
Marketing Manager IBM	none
Software developer	Hospital Doctor
Loss Adjuster	Was investment manager
Chartered Patent Agent	Chartered Patent Agent
Barrister	Film Producer
Personnel Manager - TSB	Computer Consultatnt
Senior Lecturer - South Bank Polytechnic	na
Marketing Consultant - Design Agency	na
Journalist	Journalist
Manager Training Workshop - Islington	Administrative Officer - Islington
Graphic Designer - own company	Graphic Designer - freelance
Sales Manager for CU financial services	Press Director - Young Vic
Author	na
Freelance Journalist	Banker
Retired Civil Servant	na
Postgraduate student in Law	na
Banker	Solicitor
Registered Mental Nurse	na
Wine Buyer	Journalist
Black Cab Driver	none
Public Relations Consultant - Theatre	Writer
Director of Exhibitions Removal Firm	Artist
Administrator - Runnymede Trust	Project Planner - Aid Agency

Lecturer in Art History	Film Programmer - Rio
Journalist City Limits	na
Clerical worker DE in Hackney	na
Actor	Assistant Librarian Hampstead Health Authority
Freelance journalist	Supply teacher
Administrative Officer MRC	na
Assistant Solicitor in City	na
Salaried partner in City solicitors	na
na (previously - systems analyst)	Tax adviser Barclays Bank
Teacher	Teacher
Teacher	Teacher
Personal Assistant to Senior Partner in Solicitors	Architect
Maternity leave - computer programmer	Film editor
Teacher	Teacher
Actress	na
NACRO on secondment to the Home Office	Director of Small Charity
Picture editor - Macmillans	Political journalist - The Guardian
Classics Teacher - Camden School for Girls	na
Stockbroker	na
Banker	na
Freelance journalist	Political journalist - Independent
Graphic Designer - Director	Graphic Designer
Film maker	na
Accountant - IDV	Accountant
Economic Development Officer - LB Kensington	Researcher - UCL
Epidemiologist	Teacher
Manager of Computer training BT	none - previously teacher
Contract Manager for Architects	Artist
Opera Singer	na
Teacher	na
Social Worker -LBI	na
Freelance editor and writer	Trainee building inspector
Interior Designer - Architects	Information Officer - Help the Aged
Architect	Teacher
Clinical Psychologist - MRC	Writer
Lecturer at Birkbeck/Clinical Psychologist NHS	Pyschiatric Social Worker ILEA
SW - pt for Camden & Kensington	na
Freelance financial pr consultant	Solicitor - partner
Banker	Wholesale Travel Agent - self employed
Business strategist - consultancy	Accountant - big 8
Part time teacher - numeracy; T'ai Chei	na
Lecturer in Business Studies -Hendon CFE	na
Systems Analyst - Manager	na
Social Worker - Islington	Trainee Teacher
Journalist - Sunday Telegraph	Advisory Teacher - Brent
Housing Co-op Officer - LBI	na
Caretaker - LBH	Ward Clerk
Co-owner & Director of Audio Business	Nurse
Manager - Housing Corporation	Personnel Manager - BT
TV Producer - LWT	na
Journalist	Translator/Company Secretary
Picture Researcher - Macdonalds	na
Drug counsellor - St Clements	na
Administrator - BSA	Part time - teacher etc
Systems Anlayst _ LB Camden	Co-Ordinator BioTechnology Reading University
Postman - Supervisory	Housewife
Freelance Accountant - Community Groups	Headteacher - primary school Islington
Teacher	Travel Agent
Telecomms Supervisor LBH	na
Senior Probation Officer	na

Librarian - British Library
 Programmer - Westfield College
 Unemployed
 Unemployed - previously Librarian
 Architect
 Acupuncturist
 Job share programmer LBH
 Librarian - Wood Green
 Unemployed
 Housewife
 Computer Programmer
 Research & Development CABx
 SL in Social Work -PNL
 Property Researche - Jones Lang Wooton
 Vice Principal Hackney Adult Institute
 Market Researcher
 Child Psychotherapist - Orpington
 Training Manager London CAB
 PL - Modern Langauges
 Marketing Manager - FADS
 Homeless Persons Officer - LB Camden
 Communications Manager - Datastream
 ILEA Campaigns Organiser
 Housing Officer - Samuel Lewis Trust
 Horticulturalist - own business
 Purchasing Administrator - Oil Company
 Cost Assistant - Channel 4
 Financial Consultant
 Freelance Musician and Composer
 Conservator - British Museum
 Stockbroker
 Qualitative Market Researcher
 Anthropologist
 Social Work consultant
 Systems Consultant
 Trainer - Standard Chartered Bank
 Probation Officer
 Teacher & ceramacist
 Cafe Owner
 Head of Newspaper Library - British Library
 Despatch Rider
 Teacher - just resigned
 Freelance journalist
 Accounts Supervisor - Post Office
 Customer Services - Stock Exchange
 Freelance film production manager
 Psychiatrist - Senior Registrar
 Marketing - Technical publisher
 Senior Analyst - BT
 Information & Policy Manager - NSPCC
 Secretary - Coopers & Lybrand
 Retired BA Middle Manager
 MD independent cinema
 Recruitment Executive
 Freelance editor
 Social Services Manager - docklands
 Designer own business
 Retail Manager - John Lewis now teaching
 Singer
 Video Producer

Librarian - British Library
 Adult Education Lecturer - Tower Hamlets ILEA
 Unemployed
 na
 na
 na
 Lecturer Hackney Tech
 na
 na
 na
 BBC Technician
 Manager Waltham Forest CAB
 Marital Counsellor - Tavistock
 Editor - Childs Encyclopaedia Britannica
 PA to Gen Secretary HVA
 Teacher
 na
 na
 Freelance translator
 Librarian - PNL
 na
 Project Manager - LB Hackney
 Freelance Photographer
 Assistant Solicitor - West End
 Horticulturalist
 Exec Officer - Inland Revenue
 na
 Administrator Garden Centre
 Freelance Musician
 na
 Private Gallery Administrator
 Designer
 Solicitor - partner in Whitechapel
 na
 Assistant in Software House
 Journalist - Thames
 Works in a Bookshop
 Potter
 none
 na
 na
 Health Promotion Officer - just resigned
 Publishing
 Housing iumprovement grants - LBI
 Business Analyst - Software Company
 Graphic Designer - design agency
 na
 Market research - publishing
 na
 domestic
 Messenger - city insurance broker
 Probation Officer
 Freelance writer
 na
 na
 Medical Assessor
 na
 Teacher Tower Hamlets
 Freelance Sound Engineer
 Homeless Worker

Police Officer
Clinical Psychologist
Permanently disabled
Co owner picture framing franchise
Stockbroker
Insurance Broker - Sedgwick

Computer Maintenance Engineer
Information Scientist - Publisher
Company Secretary
na
na
na

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